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376 HISTORY

OF THE

FRASERS

OF

LOVAT

WITH

GENEALOGIES OF THE PRINCIPAL
FAMILIES OF THE NAME:

TO WHICH IS ADDED THOSE OF

DUNBALLOCH AND PHOPACHY.

pt. 2
BY

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, M.J.I.,

AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY OF THE MACKENZIES"; "THE HISTORY OF THE MACDONALDS
AND LORDS OF THE ISLES"; "THE HISTORY OF THE CAMERONS"; "THE HISTORY
OF THE MACLEODS"; "THE HISTORY OF THE MATHESONS"; "THE HISTORY
OF THE CHISHOLMS"; "THE PROPHECIES OF THE BRAHAN SEER";
"THE HISTORICAL TALES AND LEGENDS OF THE HIGH-
LANDS"; "THE HISTORY OF THE HIGHLAND
CLEARANCES"; "THE SOCIAL STATE OF
THE ISLE OF SKYE IN 1882-83";
ETC., ETC.

Je suis Prest.

INVERNESS: A. & W. MACKENZIE.

MDCCCXCVI.

chiefs, otherwise the social jealousies and personal irritations which then prevailed throughout the whole Highlands, fanned by this incident, would probably have produced a lasting feud between the Frasers and Mackenzies.* It now turns out that Lovat and his Fraser friends were altogether in the wrong, and that Lord Simon had to make a complete apology to the Mackenzie chief and at the same time to put his more aggressive friends on the occasion of the fracas through a somewhat humiliating process. In one of the series of interesting Lovat letters referred to, Mr John Fraser, writing to Cluny for his Lordship from Beaufort, on the 31st of May, 1745, after the usual formalities, says—

“As my Lord has been indisposed for two or three days past, and is not fit or capable to undergo much fatigue, his Lordship has desired me to give you a true account of what passed betwixt Lord Seaforth and his Lordship after they left Inverness, since you was known yourself to all that happened before that time.

“Upon Saturday, the 18th of this month, my Lord Lovat and the Laird of Macleod came from Inverness to Bunchrew, in my Lord's chariot, to dine with the President, and as they talked over what passed the day before at Inverness, the President said that my Lord Lovat had put such an affront upon Seaforth, first giving him the lie and then the cane, that, by the laws of honour, nothing but blood or fighting could atone for it, and that if Seaforth could be pleased with any other satisfaction my Lord Lovat should not at all refuse it. And the President and Macleod entreated and importuned him to write a civil letter to Seaforth acknowledging his concern for what had happened. Lord Lovat came home that night, and next day sent Byrefield, with a couple of horses and his groom, with a letter to Lord Seaforth, of which I send you a copy, as also of the letter that Seaforth wrote back by Byrefield. My Lord Lovat first sent a copy of his own letter and thereafter Lord Seaforth's letter to the President and Macleod, and they approved very much of both.

“Two days thereafter Seaforth sent Davochmaluag with Lord Lovat's letter to the President and Major Grant, Governor of Inverness, and they both told Davochmaluag that it was their opinion that my Lord's letter was full and complete satisfaction for the affront Seaforth received, and that there should be no more disturbance about it, but that both the Lords should live together like neighbours in the same friendly manner as formerly.

“My Lord Lovat has since, by Macleod's advice, and the Presi-

* *The History of the Mackenzies*, second edition, pp. 318-319.

dent's, sent the man that gave Seaforth the strokes on the streets of Inverness prisoner to Brahan, with a guard of four armed men, conducted by two gentlemen, Ledclune, and Simon in Achnacloich.

"Davochmaluag, who was the only gentleman there at the time, and who is Lord Seaforth's great Tutor, used the two gentlemen very civilly, and said that he was very glad that the affair was taken away for the good of both the kindred, and Lord Seaforth sent the man that struck him a crown to drink his health, and relieved him and his guard without doing them the least harm. So this affair is now fully ended without a drop of blood. And if no cross accident interfere, I hope both the peers and their clans will live together amicably without any variance or bloodshed."*

Lord Lovat at this period while writing to his friend, Lord President Forbes of Culloden, letters brimful of the most loyal sentiments towards the reigning family was actively plotting their destruction with the friends of Prince Charles and his house. On this point Mr Anderson says that while "his Lordship, willing to keep up appearances with the Government, made the most solemn assurances of fidelity to President Forbes, secretly, however, sending for his son from St. Andrews and appointing him Colonel of the clan; arms, money, and provisions were collected; the clan rendezvoused, and the fiery cross circulated. It was impossible to veil such proceedings in secrecy, and the Lord President, to whom he owed much, candidly wrote him of the reports abroad, and besought him by every sacred consideration to weigh well what he owed to the established power. His Lordship had even to complain of an attack by the Stratherrick Frasers upon his house. To the sincere and often repeated solicitations of the President Lovat returned evasive replies, opposing subtle subterfuges and deceitful pretexts to sound argument and solid advice."† For instance, Mr Robert Craigie, at the time Lord Advocate, received a letter from Lovat, dated the 23rd of August, 1745, in reply to one from the former dated the 15th of the same month, in which Lord Simon says—

"Your Lordship judges right when you believe that no hardship or ill-usage that I meet with can alter or diminish my zeal and

* *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, vol. xix., pp. 207-209.

† *Historical Account of the Family of Fraser*, p. 150.

attachment for his Majesty's person and Government. I am as ready this day (as far as I am able) to serve the King and Government as I was in the year 1715, when I had the good fortune to serve the King in suppressing the great rebellion more than any of my rank in the Island of Britain. But my clan and I have been so neglected these many years past that I have not twelve stands of arms in my country, though I thank God I could bring twelve hundred men to the field for the King's service if I had arms and other accoutrements for them. Therefore, my good Lord, I earnestly entreat that, as you wish I would do good service to the Government, on this critical occasion, you may order a thousand stand of arms to be delivered to me and my clan at Inverness, and then your Lordship shall see that I will exert myself for the King's service."

What he intended to do with these arms, had he been successful in getting them, may be gathered from the following letter written to his friend Lochiel in September, only a few days later—

"Dear Lochiel,—I fear you have been over rash in going ere affairs are ripe. You are in a dangerous state. The Elector's General, Cope, is in your rear, hanging at your tail, with 3000 men, such as have not been here since Dundee's affair, and we have no force to meet him. If the Macphersons would take the field I would bring out my lads to help you, and 'twixt the two we might cause Cope keep his Christmas here, but only Cluny is earnest in the cause, and my Lord Advocate plays at cat and mouse with me; but times may change and I may bring him to the Saint Johnstone's tippet. Meantime look to yourselves, for you may expect many a sour face and sharp weapon in the South. I'll aid when I can, but my prayers are all I can give at present. My service to the Prince, but I wish he had not come so empty handed. Siller would go far in the Highlands. I send this by Ewan Fraser, whom I have charged to give it to yourself; for were Duncan to find it, it would be my head to an onion. Farewell.—Your faithful friend,
LOVAT."

Several letters passed between Lord Lovat and President Forbes, between the dates of the one addressed by Simon to the Lord Advocate and the one written by him to Lochiel. In the first of these he says of Prince Charles—"I hear that mad and unaccountable gentleman has set up a standard at a place called Glenfinnan Monday last," and of Lochiel in a letter to the Lord President, dated the 27th of August, he says—

"I own I must regret my dear cousin, Lochiel, who, contrary

to his promise to me, engaged in this mad enterprise ; but if Sir John Cope is beat (which I think next to impossible) this desperate Prince will be the occasion of much bloodshed, which I pray God may avert ; for to have bloodshed in our bowels is a horrible thing to any man that loves Scotland. Therefore, I pray God that we may not have a Civil War in Scotland ; this has been my constant wish since ever I had the use of my reason ; and it shall be the same while there is breath in me ; so that they must be damnably ignorant of the principle of my heart and soul who can imagine that I would endeavour to promote a Civil War in my country. I do assure you, my dear Lord, that if the King had taken my house and a part of my estate without any just ground, as he did my company, that I would go and live, though most miserable, in any country on earth rather than make a Civil War in my own country. I hope this will convince your Lordship that I have always been a declared enemy of this mad project. Now, my dear Lord, as to what you desire me, of acquainting all my people to be in readiness, I do assure you I did so immediately after coming from Inverness ; but, to obey your commands, I have sent my officers this day with orders to them to be ready when I should call for them ; and I ordered them to make short coats and hose, and to put aside the long coats, and to get as many swords and dirks as they could find out. As to the article of arms, it's needless to talk of it ; for my men have no arms, and I never will present them to King or General without arms. And your Lordship may remember that when you spoke to me of that article at Inverness, you said at last that I could not show my men without arms, and without sufficient orders from the Government ; to which opinion I told your Lordship I would adhere. As to my zeal for the Government, I can assure your Lordship that I have as much as any lord or laird in Scotland except your Lordship, whose constant, uncommon, and fiery zeal for this Government, to my certain knowledge, is and has always been without example. But I hope, my Lord, since you have this day the same power over your old corporal that you had in the year 1715, you will make my Court to Sir John Cope. If I be able to step into my chariot I will pay my duty to him at Inverness or Culloden, and will beg of your Lordship to introduce me to him."

The short coats were to be exchanged for the long ones, and the arms which Lord Simon pressed for, were, as has been already premised and will soon appear, intended for a very different purpose to that set forth in his letters to the Lord President, who writes to his Lordship of Lovat on the 19th of September, offering him a commission for his second son, "as your eldest was destined to another course

of life.* He at the same time says that he was informed that the "Stratherrick men were immediately to join Glenbucket; and that as your own (Lord Simon's) health was bad and the Master of Lovat but young, you had sent your cousin Inverallochy to command these and raise your other men. If such silly stories pass upon any body, it must be upon those who do not know what you have done for the present Government, and the value you have for your honour and for the estate of Lovat." Simon replies next day, the 20th, in a letter from which it appears that he declined the commission for his second son, though he does not say so in as many words, but states that he had requested his cousin Macleod to explain his resolutions regarding it and his reasons for them. He admits that Inverallochy is already at Beaufort, but says that the statement made regarding him is "grossly false," adding—"the reason I sent for him is that I resolved to put my estate in trust in his hand, my Lord Strichen's, and Macleod's, being determined as soon as I can, as I have been all this season, to go south, and from that to England, and from that to France (if I get leave) for the benefit of my health; and I sent for Inverallochy to be witness to Evan Baillie's drawing up the papers concerning my estate, because its ten to one if ever I come back to this country after going out of it. This is the true matter of fact." This was written on the 20th of September, 1745.

On the 15th, only five days before, he had written a letter to Ewen Macpherson of Cluny, who was married to his daughter, the Hon. Janet Fraser, in which he says, referring

* John Grant, factor for Urquhart, writing from Balmacaan, on the 12th of September, 1745, to Ludovick Grant of Grant, after describing the movements and preparations of certain leading men in Glenurquhart and their tenants, says—"Lord Lovat is making ready to march. He has given orders to all his men to be in readiness, and has a good many smiths and tinkers preparing their arms and targes." On the 17th he writes that "last Friday, upon the night sixty of his men went through this country to join the Highlanders, and I am told that all the Stratherrick Frasers join them this week." On the 8th of October he writes—"Lord Lovat has not appointed a day for his marching as yet, for I am told that he has the meal to make that he carries along with him for his men's subsistence."

to her husband's decision to join Prince Charles—"The account that you and my dear Sibbie give me of my dear daughter Lady Cluny's extraordinary melancholy situation grieves me to the heart and soul," and again—"As to her apprehensions with regard to your resolutions, I hope in God these gloomy apprehensions will soon wear off, for she cannot but observe that there are numbers of the best women in the Kingdom in the same situation with herself." Messengers with letters, on the subject of joining the Prince, were at this time constantly passing between his Lordship and his son-in-law.

On the 23rd of the same month, just three days after he had written to the Lord President so indignantly denying the stories circulated regarding his attitude, he wrote Cluny another letter in reply to one brought to him at Beaufort by Macpherson of Druminard, in which he says—"I shall send an express to you when any extraordinary thing happens, till I have the honour to see you, which I hope will be in a very little time. I send you enclosed the glorious news of this day, which, if it is confirmed, I truly think P. C. (Prince Charles) Master of all Scotland, but he will not be the worse of what Druminard will tell you from me." And further, "I beg as you love your own honour and interest and the good of your family, do not fail to observe strictly the advice and instructions that I send you by our friend Druminard. If you do, remember I tell you that you will repent it. I have the agreeable news to tell you that I bless God I am better in health than I have been these two years past, and have more the use of my limbs. It's a sort of miracle, considering how ill I have been these two or three months past. I hope it's to enable me to serve my country." There can be no possible doubt as to the country and cause which he intended to serve, and if there could it is made perfectly clear in his next communication. The "glorious news" referred to by his Lordship must have been the capture by Prince Charles of the City of Edinburgh, six days before the date of the letter quoted, on the 17th of September, 1745.

On the same day, the 23rd of September, 1745, a warrant by Prince Charles, signed and sealed by Secretary Murray at Holyrood House, is issued in favour of James Fraser of Foyers to apprehend Lord President Forbes of Culloden. The original is in possession of Mr Charles Fraser-Mackintosh of Drummond, who kindly allowed us to take a copy of it. It will be observed that a similar warrant had previously been issued in favour of Simon Lord Lovat, although he denies any knowledge of Foyers' proceedings in attempting to execute his, which is in the following terms—

“Charles Prince of Wales, etc., Regent of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, with the Dominions thereunto belonging :

To James Fraser of Foyers

Whereas we gave a warrand some time ago to the Lord Lovat to apprehend and secure the person of Duncan Forbes of Culloden, which warrand for sufficient reasons he could not put in execution, We now judge it necessary hereby to empower you to seise upon the person of the above-named Duncan Forbes, and when you have so seised and apprehended him, to convey him prisoner to us at Edinburgh, or where we shall happen to be for the time ; for the doing of which this shall be your warrand. Given at his Majestie's Palace of Holyrood house, the 23rd day of September, 1745. By his Highness' Command. (Signed) JO. MURRAY.”

On the 7th of October, several weeks after the date of his letter to Lochiel, already given at length, and only a fortnight after the foregoing letter to Cluny, his Lordship sends again to the Lord President a communication bristling with the most fulsome adulation, in the course of which, in characteristic fashion, he says—

“There has been several villainous, malicious, and ridiculous reports that vexed me very much ; but as there was nothing out of hell more false, I despise them and the scoundrels that invented them ; and since the whole business, trade, and conversation of many in Inverness is to invent and tell lies I hope your Lordship will believe no mean thing of me till you have a real and infallible proof of it, as I am resolved that this shall be my conduct towards your Lordship.”

In a like spirit of double dealing he forwards to the same gentleman on the 11th, four days later, a communication in which, after giving the names of prominent men who are

joining Prince Charles and stating the spirit towards him by which they were actuated, he says—

“I am very sorry that this spirit is come to so great a height in this country, for the Clanchattan’s rendezvousing to go and join the Highlanders has so intoxicated my people that I find it morally impossible for me to stop them. The oldest men, that are substantial tenants, say that they will not stay behind to be upbraided with cowardice by their neighbours. Your Lordship may remember that I had a vast deal of trouble in keeping my men from rising at the beginning of this affair, but now the contagion is so universal by the late success of the Highlanders that they laugh at any man that would dissuade them from going ; so that I really know not how to behave.”

Alexander Grant of Corrimony writing to Ludovick Grant of Grant on the 15th of October, 1745, says, “I came last night from my Lord Lovat’s, with whom I was pretty big, could I credit him. I advertise you that for certain his whole clan and the Master of Lovat are next week to march and join the Prince. My Lord proposed, as I meant that way, to join him and come under his colours. I told his Lordship that my own chief had very good colours, and though I was so rash as go without him, that I could not but observe the difference ’twixt loyalty and family quarrels, and that I never would bring such a task on my chief or the clan as join a person who was thought to be in direct opposition to his interest. My Lord got in a passion and ordered I should be silent in his house, and till the hour of his death he could not forgive me, and that he would cause my chief revenge it. I also advertise you that the Master of Lovat comes ’twixt (this) and this day se’enight to force your tenants, with 300 men, to join him, in order to be under his banner ; to prevent which design I run this express, and do think you should immediately send a judicious gentleman or two to spirit the people to go over to Castle Grant, where they should continue in a body with the rest of the name, till any who would dare to insult them would go off.”*

On the 16th of October, Lovat writes again to Cluny a letter which places his duplicity, and his intrigue for Prince Charles beyond any dispute, and which had it been known

* *Chiefs of Grant*, vol. 2, p. 174.

and produced at his trial would by itself have been conclusive regarding his guilt. The original is in the Cluny charter chest, as are also those addressed to that chief already quoted, and they were read by Provost Alexander Macpherson of Kingussie, before the Gaelic Society of Inverness, on the 22nd of February, 1894, and published in Vol. XIX. of that Society's Transactions, pp. 209-212. His Lordship writes to his son-in-law as follows—

"I received by the bearer the honour of your kind letter, for which I return you my sincere thanks. I am exceeding glad that you have marched your men according to my earnest request, since my son could not join you, he waiting every day for Macleod and Sir Alexander (Macdonald). I hope you will let the great people above know my extraordinary zeal in that affair and how I pressed you to go immediately South and not wait for my son and people. The letter that you sent me from his Grace, the Duke of Atholl, is most civil and obliging, and I earnestly entreat if you see his Grace that you assure him of my most humble duty and best respects, and that he has no friends or relation that has a greater esteem and affection for his Grace than I have, and I will instruct my son in a particular manner to have always a great regard and attachment for the Duke of Atholl. I beg you may not fail to let his Grace know this when you see him, and if Macleod and Sir Alexander do not do right things God knows it is not my fault, for I have used my endeavours with them as much as if it was to save my life, and I hope they will give the lie to all those that cry out against them . . . I hope when my son comes up with his regiment, which I believe will be two battalions, you will live with him as a brother ought to do to another, and stand by one another upon all occasions, and I think you should have your regiment near his that you may be always close to one another and might assist each other in time of need or in case of accidents. I beg you may seriously consider of this, and it will be your interest to grant my request on this subject. I will earnestly and in most particular manner recommend it to my son, and I am sure it will not be his fault if you and your following do not live with him and his like brothers, for he will enjoin every man he has to look upon every Macpherson as a brother."

About the same date as Lord Lovat's letter to Cluny Macpherson—the middle of October, 1745—an attack was made upon Culloden House, with the object of capturing the Lord President, under James Fraser of Foyers, in terms of the warrant from Prince Charles already given, but

it is argued by some of Lord Simon's friends that this was done without his authority, and that he knew nothing about it. He no doubt says so himself, but the reader has already gauged the value of his most solemn averments, and it is feared that few will accept his statements as conclusive evidence in such a case in his own favour, especially when it is known that a similar warrant was previously issued to himself, which at the time he did not find convenient to put in execution against his unsuspecting friend. Lord President Forbes, writing to him from Culloden on the 18th of October, says—

“I would have acquainted your Lordship sooner of the idle attempt that was made on this house in the night between Tuesday and Wednesday* last by my relation Foyers, and some others, whom your Lordship acquainted me some time ago you could hardly govern, but that I very well know it would give your Lordship more pain than it did me, though no man of common equity who knows that they carried off my sheep, robbed my gardener, and the poor weaver who is a common benefit to the country, and carried off some of my tenants' cattle, will imagine that there was the least countenance from any about your Lordship to this transaction, nor should I now give you any trouble on a subject so disagreeable but that I am teased every hour with reports that the gentlemen who failed of their principal aim give it now out that they are to pillage, burn, and destroy my innocent tenants. These reports, I confess, I give no credit to, knowing that I never deserved any such usage at the hands of those who are said to intend it, but as things unforeseen now-a-days happen I have judged it proper to acquaint your Lordship with what I hear, in full confidence that you will take such pains to prevent such hurt to me and my tenants as I most undoubtedly should to prevent damage to your Lordship or any one that belongs to you.”

The Stratherrick men failed to take the Castle of Culloden, which was strongly fortified, having had several pieces of cannon on its ramparts, or its principal defender, in terms of their leader's warrant. Lovat appears to have written a letter to the Lord President on the 17th of October which was not found among the Culloden Papers, but from the reply to it Lord Simon seems to have informed the President of the Master's intention to take the

* “At 3 o'clock on the morning of the 16th”—*Chiefs of Grant*, vol ii., p. 176.

field at the head of the clan for Prince Charles. The Lord President, writing on the 19th, says—

“Your Lordship’s letter of the 17th, which I received this morning, gave me a smarter concern than any thing I met with for a great while. What portends no less than ruin to your Lordship and to your family, for which I have been so zealously interested during the best part of my life, and at the same time threatens imminent destruction to that young man in whose favour I am so strongly prepossessed, cannot fail to impress me with very sensible uneasiness, and all the consolation I have is in the good opinion I have of the young gentleman, and hopes thence arising that, however violent the present sally of his youthful inclinations may be, he will consider the unavoidable effects of his rashness to your Lordship and to his family before it is too late. . . . I cannot permit myself to believe that, if the consequences were duly represented to the Master, he would persist in a resolution so dangerous and so big with mischief. His birth, his fortune, his hopes (except those that may of late have been put in his head) he owes to your Lordship, and must with half an eye see that, however innocent your Lordship’s inclinations may be, as men are now made, his act will be imputed to you ; and the consequences of that imputation, or even the suspicion of it, at this time of day, and in the present state of your Lordship’s health, I confess I, who in respect of him am but a stranger, cannot think of without great uneasiness ; and when I reflect on what I feel within myself I cannot but hope that my young friend, who I’m sure has parts, and I persuade myself has natural affection, will, upon serious consideration, drop this dangerous enterprise if the case is but fairly stated to him. I therefore wish and earnestly entreat your Lordship, without loss of time, may have these things stated to him as they are.”

The Lord President apparently did not suspect that Lord Lovat himself was during the identically same period over which this correspondence extended acting as the strong partisan of Prince Charles and urging the Master, much against his will, to take the field in his behalf. In reply to the President’s last letter, dated the 19th of October, in which he pleaded so earnestly with Lovat to use every means in his power to induce the Master not to take the field at the head of the clan, Lord Simon wrote a long letter on the following day. It is an extraordinary production and shows, in the light of what is now known, what a consummate deceiver and blasphemer the author of it un-

doubtedly was. Inordinately long as it is, it must in justice to all parties be given almost entire. Lord Simon writes—

“I received the honour of your letter yesterday morning by an express from Bailie James, and truly the generous and moderate way that your Lordship writes of that base, barbarous, inhuman, and distracted attempt and behaviour of the Stratherrick men at Culloden rather augments my trouble of mind and vexation than diminishes it, for I could never imagine that any man that had the honour to know your Lordship or to hear of you should be so villainous and unnatural as to hurt your Lordship or the nearest person belonging to your Lordship, since your goodness and liberality to mankind in distress is as well known as your name and employment ; so that those that acted this villainous attempt and plunder have been ruffians without the fear of God or man, and they will have what they deserve some day or other.

“If unhappy Foyers has been there, which I can hardly believe, he was strangely imposed upon by the greedy, subtle, rogues that were with him ; for he is naturally a weak man ; but though he was never so weak it is a surprising thing that Foyers, whose grandmother was a daughter to Culloden, and your Lordship's grand aunt, should go to be witness to such a barbarity, acted against your Lordship and against your people ; it is hardly credible. I can freely declare upon honour and conscience that I never heard Foyers speak disrespectfully of your Lordship, and this year or two I don't remember to hear him mention your name, so that I cannot well comprehend what madness possessed him if he was there. I sent your Lordship's letter to Gortuleg and desired he would communicate it to my son, and that they would seriously reflect on the horrid barbarity of this action ; and that they should order immediately to send back all the plunder that remained of what they took away. I ordered particularly Gortuleg to send back all your Lordship's sheep that could be had ; that I would give double the value for them rather than that your Lordship should want them. I am very much persuaded that my son and Gortuleg will use their utmost endeavours to see what they can find out of the plunder sent back ; and if your Lordship's sheep cannot be had, I have about a hundred good fat wedders and I shall divide them with your Lordship with pleasure, and send you the half of them, if you will be so good as to accept of them ; and, as they say in the Highlands, *Good my Commons* ; for I owe more obligations to your Lordship and to your family, than all the sheep, oxen, cows, and horses that ever I had were worth. . . .

“I now beg leave to answer, the best way I can, the most kind and obliging letter that your Lordship did me the honour to write me yesterday ; for which I give your Lordship a million of thanks. It is

impossible for me to express the grateful sense I have of the vast concern that your Lordship has and always had for my family. I pray God reward you for it, since I cannot. Your Lordship must own that my present troublesome situation is to be regretted ; for you cannot but remember that I was all the summer fully determined to go abroad for four or five years, to recover my health and the use of my limbs and to pay all my debts, that I might leave the best estate in this shire free from all encumbrances to my son. And this Prince's landing in the West Highlands was as great a surprise to me as it was to any man in Scotland ; but who can prevent accidents or the designs of Providence ? It is certain, that what he has done since he landed seems rather to be a miracle than the effects of men's heads or hands ; and how far that favourable Providence may follow him or conduct him God alone knows ; for he seems at present in a fair and probable way of succeeding. For those of his party have quite different accounts from those that your Lordship has, and their faith directly opposite to yours ; and I can assure your Lordship without any party view or influence, that those that are resolved to stand by him are much more numerous than your Lordship imagines ; and they flatter themselves that he will have succours from France and Spain, of men, money, and arms. So, as I told your Lordship before, he must be a very real prophet that can tell what side will gain or lose ; and that makes every person go to the side that they love most. It is certain that almost all the Highlands of Scotland love the Pretender and his interest more than they do the interest of the present Government ; and if he be assisted by the English friends of the Pretender, and by a foreign force, he believes he will succeed in his enterprise, but I do solemnly declare to your Lordship that nothing ever vexed my soul as much as my son's resolution to go and join the Prince, and venture his person with him ; and his mad resolution struck him in his head as soon as he heard of the Prince's landing ; and after what Macleod said to him, and what Gortuleg said to him, and what myself said to him, I know by his answers to Macleod, Gortuleg, and me, that all the creation will not keep him from going out. What a load and weight of grief must be upon your soul, to see my son, myself and my family, in such danger and jeopardy, but I cannot help it. I must submit to the will of God, and there I must leave it. I sent your Lordship's last letter with a clever man to travel all night, that he might deliver it to Gortuleg as soon as possible ; to whom I wrote the strongest exhortations, to entreat him to use all his credit and good sense with my son to dissuade him from his very rash and inconsiderate resolutions, and for my part, as my son only smiles and laughs at me when I make strong remonstrances to him against his resolutions, I am resolved never to write nor open my mouth to him upon that subject, and, as God Almighty has at many times wonder-

fully delivered me out of many dangers and difficulties by land and sea, I throw myself on his Divine Providence and trust myself entirely to it, for if God in his Providence save my estate, I do not give three halfpence for my life ; for it is but wearisome to me and full of troubles.

"I beg my Lord that you may not be in the least apprehensive that any of these rogues or any in my country will go and disturb your tenants, for I solemnly swear to Gortuleg, that if any villain or rascal of my country durst presume to hurt or disturb any of your Lordship's tenants, I would go personally, though carried in a litter, and see them seized and hanged. So, my dear Lord, I beg you may have no apprehension that any of your tenants will meet with disturbance as long as I live in this country ; and I hope that my son that represents me will follow my example ; so let Monarchies, Governments, and Commonwealths, take up fits of revolutions and wars, for God's sake, my dear Lord, let us live in good friendship and peace together. This is my sincere wish and desire ; since it is impossible for me to forget the obligations I owe your Lordship and your family ; for which reason you shall always find me your most affectionate cousin and faithful slave."

We shall see as we proceed how little truth there was in the unjust charges here made by the father against the son, who will be proved to have been forced into the Rising entirely against his will by the unnatural parent who so heartlessly accused him of disobedience and worse to his good friend the President. On the 25th Lord Simon is again remonstrated with to induce the Master to desist from his intended march to join the Prince. Alexander Brodie of Brodie, who was at Inverness on that day, writing to Sir Harry Innes on the 26th, says—"When I left Inverness yesterday, I was told that Macdonald of Knoydart, Barrisdale, and Glengarry's son were at Lovat's, where there were twelve covered tables on Saturday night for the gentlemen convened, and that the number of men then there would be above a thousand, including 200 Macdonalds and the people of Urquhart, etc., and that they were to march yesterday for the castle of Brahan to force Seaforth to give them his men to join them, from whence, it was said, they were to proceed north to force all the North to join in a general rebellion. The Mackintoshes certainly marched to the tune of 300" men. All this must have been known to the Lord President.

Lovat's reply to him, dated the 27th, is another torrent of fulsome flattery and a repetition of the charge of disobedience against his own son, the Master. Lovat says—

“Gortuleg declares to me that he could not yet get a full occasion to speak to him thoroughly as he could wish, because of the strangers that are still here, who, I believe, blows him up in his folly, and Gortuleg is as much against his project as your Lordship is. For my part, my Lord, I solemnly protest to your Lordship that since my son was determined on that mad, foolish project I never spoke to him about it but he always flew in my face like a wild cat when I spoke to him against any of his distracted opinions; and anything that I got done with him was by Gortuleg's means, who has a great deal to say to him. I have earnestly begged of Gortuleg, within this hour, to use all his interest with him not to go away this week; for God knows what a week may produce.”

He then “earnestly and humbly” asks the President for advice which he has not the remotest intention of acting upon when he gets it. It is, however, forthcoming. On the 29th the Lord President writes—

“I waited with much impatience for the answer to the letter which I wrote to your Lordship on the 25th, and yesterday, when it came, I must acknowledge it gave me very great uneasiness; chiefly as it left it extremely difficult for me, if at all possible, to give your Lordship what you so earnestly desire, advice. Should the unlucky youth persist in his purpose, and should his authority with that kindred for whom you have done so much, and who with reason were so passionately fond of you, prevail over your Lordship's and induce them to march without regard to your commands, or even to the safety of your person, the case would stand in a very odd light; and in this age of jealousy and suspicion it is impossible to say what construction might not be put upon it, even if a man had no enemy to improve such suspicion by hints; on the other hand, should the young man yield to your Lordship's representations, or should your authority prevail on your kindred to desert his rash undertaking, and to save you and your family from ruin, as they remarkably did 30 years ago, when they were much more deeply engaged than they are at present, it is to be hoped that conduct will wipe off every circumstance of suspicion and atone for any act of temerity the Master may have fallen into; at the same time that the joint force of those who in this country are disposed to stand by the Government will be sufficient to protect your country against the resentments of those who may have flattered themselves with the hopes of assistance from it. In these circumstances, what is left for me to advise, or rather to wish, but that your Lordship

may prevail, either by argument or by authority, over the Master, or over your kindred, to forsake the dangerous course to which they are disposed, and to join with the gross of the North in defence of the Government, in which case nothing within my power for your service shall be left undone. But should what I presume to advise and most earnestly wish not take place, whatever my inclinations may be, I greatly fear my power will not be able to answer them."

Later on, the same day, the President addressed to him a second communication of a much more explicit and peremptory character, in which, after charging him direct, for the first time, with playing a double game, he went the length of threatening to arrest his Lordship if he did not at once stop his son and clan from proceeding further against the Government. Writing from Inverness under date of 29th October, 1745, the Lord President says—

"As I have now the honour of being charged with the public affairs in this part of the kingdom, I can no longer remain a spectator of your Lordship's conduct and see the double game you have played for some time past, without betraying the trust reposed in me and at once risking my reputation and the fidelity I owe to his Majesty as a good subject. Your Lordship's actions now discover evidently your inclinations, and leave us no further in the dark about what side you are to choose in the present unhappy insurrection; you have now so far pulled off the mask, that we can see the mark you aim at, though on former occasions you have had the skill and address to disguise your intentions in matters of far less importance. And, indeed, methinks a little of your Lordship's wonted artifice would not have been amiss whatever had been your private sentiments with regard to this unnatural rebellion. You should, my Lord, have duly considered and estimated the advantages that would arise to your Lordship from its success, and balanced them with the risks you run if it should happen to miscarry, and above all things you ought to have consulted your own safety, and allowed that the chief place in your system of politics, which, I persuade myself, would have induced your Lordship to have played the game after quite a different manner, and with a much greater degree of caution and policy. But so far has your Lordship been from acting with your ordinary finesse and circumspection on this occasion that you sent away your son and the best part of your clan to join the Pretender with as little concern as if no danger attended such a step. I say, sent them away, for we are not to imagine they went of themselves, or would have ventured to take arms without your Lordship's concurrence and approbation. This, however, you are pretty sure cannot be easily proved, which, I believe

indeed may be true. But I cannot think it will be a difficult matter to make it appear that the whole strain of your Lordship's conversation in every company where you have appeared since the Pretender's arrival has tended to pervert the minds of his Majesty's subjects and seduce them from their allegiance. And give me leave to tell you, my Lord, even this falls under the construction of treason, and is no less liable to punishment than open rebellion, as I am afraid your Lordship will find when once this insurrection is crushed, and the Government at leisure to examine into the affair. . . . These and such like apologies may be offered in defence of most of the leading men in the present rebellion ; but what shall I say in favour of you, my Lord ? You, who have flourished under the present happy establishment. You, who in the beginning of your days forfeited both your life and fortune, and yet by the benignity of the Government, was not only indulged the liberty of living at home, but even restored to all you could lay claim to ; nay, his Majesty's goodness went so far as to employ your Lordship in his service, and was pleased to honour you with the command of one of the Independent Companies that were raised some years ago in the Highlands, which you enjoyed for a very long time, so that both duty and gratitude ought to have influenced your Lordship's conduct at this critical juncture, and disposed you to have acted a part quite different from what you have done. But there are some men whom no duty can bind, nor no favour can oblige ; and I am afraid, if a timely repentance do not prevent it, you Lordship will, not unjustly, be ranked among that number. . . . What I would therefore propose to your Lordship as the only expedient left to secure you from the hazard of a rigorous prosecution is to recall your son and his men immediately. This step, I am persuaded, would produce several good consequences, for, on the one hand, it would prevent numbers from joining the rebels who now hang in suspense and, on the other, occasion a great many of those already engaged to desert and retire to their respective habitations, and, perhaps, may be the means of crushing the rebellion without further bloodshed, which would do your Lordship a great deal of honour, and such a remarkable piece of service would be amply rewarded by the Government. If you shall judge it proper, my Lord, to follow this advice, it will give me a great deal of pleasure, as it will contribute to stop the progress of an unhappy civil war that threatens us with endless calamities ; but if your Lordship continues obstinate, I shall be obliged to take you into custody, be the event what it will, and then your Lordship will run the risk of having your family extirpated, as well as other of the Highland chiefs, when the rebellion is once quelled."

Lovat now found himself getting into a tight place, and he changed his tone from a suppliant to one of comparative

defiance. He still, however, continues to blame his son for his misfortune. On the 30th he writes—

“I received the honour of your Lordship’s letter of yesterday’s date, late last night, and I own that I never received one like it since I was born; and I give your Lordship ten thousand thanks for the kind freedom you use with me in it, for I see by it that for my misfortune in having an obstinate, stubborn son and an ungrateful kindred my family must go to destruction and I must lose my life in my old age. Such usage looks rather like a Turkish or Persian Government than like a British. Am I, my Lord, the first father that has had an undutiful and unnatural son? Or I am the first man that has made a good estate and saw it destroyed in his own time by the mad, foolish actings of an unnatural son, who prefers his own extravagant fancies to the solid advice of an affectionate old father? I have seen instances of this in my own time, but I never heard till now that the foolishness of a son would take away the liberty and life of a father that lived peaceably, that was an honest man, and well inclined to the rest of mankind. But I find the longer a man lives the more wonders and extraordinary things he sees.

“Now, my dear Lord, I beg leave to tell you my mind freely in turn. I thank God I was born with very little fear. In my great difficulties and dangers by sea and land, and by God’s assistance, I often saved my life by the firmness and steadfastness of my resolutions; and though I have now but a little remains of a life that is clogged with infirmities and pains, yet, by God’s help, I am resolved to preserve it as long as I can; and though my son should go away with the young people of his clan, yet I will have six hundred brave Frasers at home, many of them about my own age, that will lose the last drop of their blood to preserve my person. Since I am as peaceable a subject as any in the Kingdom and as ready to pay the King’s taxes and do any thing else that a faithful subject ought to do, I know no law or reason why my person should not be in safety.”

He then goes on to say that he repeated his appeal to Gortuleg to advise the Master to keep at home, and complains that he should be punished for his son’s faults and disobedience. He urges that as the whole kingdom is engaged on one side or other, that men should be moderate on both sides, since it is impossible to predict the result, and assuming that the Highland army should be utterly defeated, and that the Government should carry everything before them in triumph, “no man can think that any King upon the throne would destroy so many ancient families”

as are engaged in the rebellion, and he concludes by expressing the hope that his correspondent had not forgotten that in the year 1715, "when the rebellion was great and dangerous," he did more effectual service to the present Government than any Lord Baron in Scotland, for which he had three letters of thanks from the late King. He thinks the remembrance of these things should secure some regard for "an old infirm man," and expresses the belief that he will be "safe under the protection of my Lord President, while he has the full power and command" in the North of Scotland.

It appears from a memorandum by the Rev. Donald Fraser, Lovat's chaplain, that on receipt of the letter just given the Lord President sent for him, because the last he had from Lovat convinced him that "what he had wrote was misunderstood," and he did not consider it prudent in the circumstances to attempt to set the matter right by correspondence. The Lord President told the reverend gentleman that "it was demonstratively clear" that no weight or interest whatsoever could prevail with the Government to deal leniently with such persons as, contrary to their expectations, took up arms against them on that occasion, that the errors of the son would no doubt be imputed to the father, that one step further than the Master had already taken would put matters beyond any possible remedy, but "that an immediate alteration of measures and the Master's desisting totally from his enterprise, considering his youth, could not fail to procure forgiveness if the matter was properly represented; and that the necessity of making such a representation now or not at all was what moved him to write to my Lord the letter his Lordship misconstrued; that he is now to send off to London by sea dispatches in which the state of the country must be described"; that if Lovat does not place him in a position to say anything favourable he must make such representations as appear to him just, and that if his Lordship wishes him to charge the movements of the clan upon his son, he will give that account as from the father, and will at the same time

make every representation for his Lordship consistent with truth and his own allegiance ; “but what would give him the greatest satisfaction would be to be enabled by his Lordship to assure the Government that his Lordship has quieted all the motions amongst his people that threatened to give any disturbance.” He added, that the ship must sail in three days, and that any resolution come to after that would be too late. In reply to this message, through his chaplain, Lord Lovat replied on the 6th of November, 1745, in his usual misleading, deceptive, and to his son, unjust manner, as follows—

“As to my condition, the sincere matter of fact is, whenever it was known in the Highlands, that the Venturer Prince, the son of the Pretender, landed, a sort of madness seized all the West Highlanders with an eager desire of joining him. The contagion soon spread ; it came at length to my country ; and many of my people on both sides of Lochness were infected with it and fully resolved to go off then, if my precise authority had not stopped them ; which cost me a vast deal of trouble and pains, and to my chief doer, Gortuleg ; which I did communicate to your Lordship at that time. Foyers and Kilbokie, whose families always used to be the leading families of the clan on both sides, were the maddest and the keenest to go off ; and when they saw that I absolutely forbade them to move or go out of the country, they drew up with my son, and they easily got him to condescend to go at their head. The whole gentlemen followed their example, and the commons ran the same way that the gentlemen did ; so that I was left a contemptible old infirm fellow in my house ; and no more notice taken of me than if I was a child ; so that if I had been able to travel, I had not stayed a night in my house after the beginning of my son’s operation with his clan ; and this I told your Lordship in one of my letters. If that does not exoner me, I know not what can. Another strong argument your Lordship may make use of for me is, that I spoke and sent emissaries to those that I thought had loved me most of my clan, and in spite of my son’s endeavours and his captains’ I have got a regiment of good men to stay at home, and most of them pretty fellows, though some of them are betwixt 60 and 70 years of age. So that, though I had ten thousand lives to save, I could do no more in this affair to save myself than I have done ; and if the Government would punish me for the insolent behaviour of my son to myself, and his mad behaviour towards the Government, it would be a greater severity than ever was used to any subject. Since I have not strength to mount a horse and leave the country, I am resolved to live quietly and peaceably in my own

house, and be a faithful subject to the King, and observe and obey the laws of my country. And to let your Lordship further see my sincere resolutions of encouraging no disturbance, but, on the contrary, to keep the country peaceable and legal, I intend to list 200 of my men that stay at home, and get pretty gentlemen at their head, that they may watch and guard the country from all robbers and thieves, and loose men that come from the Highland army; and to seize them, and to send them to Inverness. By this project I hope to contribute to the preservation and peace of the country, as much as any two Independent Companies that are at Inverness. I hope this will not be disagreeable to your Lordship that wishes me and my country well. I know your Lordship has and ever will have more power than what would save me, and ten families like mine; otherwise the King and Government will be most ungrateful to you; for your Lordship has done more service to King George, and to his family and Government, than if he had an army of 5000 men in the North. For if it was not for your Lordship's great zeal, extraordinary and unheard of activity and fatigue, the Venturer Prince would have 10,000 before he went South instead of two; and with that number would have marched straight to London without any opposition. So that the King owes more to your Lordship on this occasion than to any subject in Britain; and I do assure your Lordship that the King's enemies are very sensible of it; and that you are more obnoxious to their hatred and revenge than any man on earth. I wish with all my soul that you may always escape the fury of their resentment, till you are happily and gloriously out of their reach; for my good wishes will attend your Lordship wherever you are; and I have firm hopes that your Lordship, who has saved the Government in the North, by bringing in so many brave families to serve the King, would be so good as to save one family that was always friends to yours, and an old infirm man whom your Lordship saw behave well enough in the King's service against the rebels. I will truly expect this great mark of your Lordship's friendship.

P.S.—Your Lordship must be informed that my house and green has been like a market place for some time past; and my son was such a fool that he entertained and does entertain every man that he thinks favours his part, and he is ten times more master of this house than I am; but I have resolved from the beginning, and will continue firm in my resolution, let them do or say what they will, I will never black paper with them; and as soon as ever I am able to travel out of this house, I'll stay no longer in it; for I am downright killed with vexation of heart and spirit, to see my health much hurt, my family in danger, and any money or rent I have foolishly spent or squandered away. There is no help for it; I must submit to Divine Providence. Mr Donald Fraser and other two gentlemen heard me say the

strongest things this day to my son that ever a father could say to a child ; but got no other satisfaction than insolent contradiction. The Earl of Cromarty and Lord Macleod came here this night, and a battalion of Mackenzies crossed the ferry of Beaully this night, that he is to take South with him ; and as many more of the Mackenzies will go South in a day or two, so that your Lordship sees that the wise and worldly people of the Mackenzies are infected ; so that it's no wonder that the Frasers, that were never thought wordly or wise, should be affected with a contagion, though never so foolish and dangerous. I pray God that their madness may not overturn my family, and I shall be very easy about the rest, either as to myself, or to my unnatural son and kindred."

On the 8th, two days after, the Lord President replied to Lord Lovat in the following terms—

"I have just received the letter which your Lordship did me the honour to write to me yesterday after conversing with Mr Donald [Fraser]. The representation which your Lordship makes I shall fairly transmit if your Lordship insist on it ; though with very great concern for the unhappy young man. But I should not act the part of that real friend I professed to be, if I did not freely express to your Lordship my apprehensions that the account given will not answer the end proposed, and which I so earnestly wish, the preservation of your Lordship's family. The affection of your clan and their attachment to you in the year 1715 and downward will be remembered ; it will not be easily believed that your Lordship's authority is less with them now than it was at that time ; it will not be credited that their engagements or inclinations were stronger against the Government when the present commotions began than they were thirty years ago, when the clan was at Perth. It will be alleged that the people were not universally forward to enter upon the present spot of work ; that many of them were reluctant, and some actually threatened, and others forced into the service, and I do not know whether, if jealousy were to provoke an inquiry, many circumstances might not come out which I choose not to think of, and I hope never to hear of. These considerations, I must confess, fill me with great uneasiness, which I must ever feel when any danger threatens your Lordship or your family, which my abilities or my interests cannot avert. My errand to this country was to preserve, if possible, the peace, and to exert the little credit I had with my friends and countrymen to prevent their ruining their families. I am vain enough to think with your Lordship, that my endeavour ought to give me some weight with the Government, though far short of what you imagine. I doubt not at all but I should have interest to prevail with them to overlook the indiscretions already committed by the young man ; but should he

actually carry away the clan into the Rebellion, that very event would lessen the credit of my endeavours in this country, and prevent the effect of any intercession on my part for your Lordship, for whom my partiality is so well known to his present Majesty, from the days that he was Prince, and to such of his Ministers as were men of business in his father's reign, when your Lordship's interest stood in need of the small assistance I could give. I say not these things as declining to do your Lordship every service that a sincere friend and an honest man, consistent with his allegiance, can perform, but to prevent your Lordship's laying stress on my ability to serve you further than it truly can bear, and I do it the rather, that it appears to me your Lordship does not at present see the necessary and natural consequences of things with the same clearness of sight as heretofore; for example, to obviate all jealousy of your Lordship's conduct, you propose to keep a guard of 200 men to watch and preserve the peace of the country. Now though this (were the clan to remain quiet at home) would be a very commendable purpose, and what the Government would very readily bear the expense of, yet I submit it to your Lordship, whether, if the rest of the clan go into the Rebellion, that guard can be looked on with a favourable eye by the commanders of his Majesty's troops in this country, and whether I should not draw even myself under suspicion, if I pretended to justify the keeping them afoot? For God's sake, my Lord, think of these things, and believe that what I now express are the genuine sentiments of a considering man and a real friend, who wishes nothing more earnestly than to pull you out of all your difficulties."

Lord Lovat sends a very long reply dated the 10th of November, in which, after abusing the Master as "that unhappy and obstinate youth" and blaming him for engaging in an "affair so very dangerous for his person and family," he says—

"As soon as I received your Lordship's express I called for my son and Gortuleg to speak to me, and after making the strongest remonstrances the returns I got put me into such a passion that I had almost done an unnatural thing that certainly I would repent all the days of my life. In short there is no retrieving of that mad young man. He will go with all those of his clan that he can get, but I am sure he will leave a great number behind, and all the gentlemen past fifty, so that there is a very good battalion left at home, as they pretend to live and die with me. I was both surprised and mortified that in the letters your Lordship did me the honour to write to me before the last you seemed not pleased that I should propose to list 200 good men of my clan, that I have stayed at home, to preserve my

country or my person if I was attacked, and to take up all thieves, rogues, and villains, and to send them into Inverness. I flattered myself that this little project would have pleased your Lordship ; but since it has not, if your Lordship and the Earl of Loudon will give me your words of honour that I will not be molested or my country, but that my person and those of my clan that stayed at home in spite of the endeavours of my son and his partisans shall be safe in their persons and effects, then I will give not only my word of honour, which is dearer to me than life, but any other engagement your Lordship pleases that is in my power, that six men shall not appear in arms in my country, except a very few that will be in the hills to guard their cattle."

The Lord President replies next day and "observes with very great concern that" Lord Lovat had "not been able to prevail with the Master or his advisers to relinquish their desperate enterprise." And matters had now reached such a pass that he would not have written at all only that he thought it just to give his Lordship all the satisfaction he could regarding the security of his person, of the people who remained at home, and of their effects, concerning which he could say nothing without the consent of Lord Loudon, who then commanded his Majesty's forces in the North. Having consulted with the Earl, the President says, that he "easily prevailed with his Lordship to agree that neither your person nor family shall in any degree be molested unless express orders come from the Government for that purpose," which he hopes and prays may not be the case, "but as to your people I have not succeeded so well. He (Lord Loudon) says he is certainly informed that violence had been used to drag men out of their beds for the rebellion, and that by the terror of destroying their cattle and effects others had been prevailed on to list. In those circumstances he insists he cannot be answerable to suffer such as have been guilty of those practices to remain quiet, neither can he abstain from attempting to fetch those who left the country back again by the same means which prevailed with them to march ; but he promises to give no disturbance to any gentleman or commoner who in eight days shall return, nor to the effects or family of any man who has, by himself or some of his sons, joined in the

present rebellion." He wishes, in conclusion, he could give his Lordship a more agreeable answer, but is quite unable, in the performance of his duty, to do so.

On the 13th the Lord President writes a long account of the action of the clans up to that date to the Marquis of Tweeddale, in the course of which he says that the Frasers in the Aird and Stratherrick "began to stir, headed by the Master of Lovat, who had been debauched by their emissaries, as the Lord Lovat affirms, and forced the kindred to take arms much against his Lordship's inclinations and in defiance of his authority. These gentlemen began with blocking up Fort-Augustus, by cutting off the communication betwixt it and Inverness, and with attempting to surprise me; and they have since proceeded to form themselves into regular companies which, it is said, will consist of ten or eleven, and may amount together to five or six hundred men. Your Lordship will easily believe I left nothing that was in my power undone to prevent or at least to protract their marching, and though I have not succeeded so as to make them lay aside their design, yet the means used have had such effect that they have not as yet marched out of this country; and I have still some hopes that, if the additional force which we look for from Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod come in time, they will consider better before they leave this neighbourhood." But his Lordship was soon disappointed in these expectations.

On the 14th, Lord Lovat replying to the President's communication of the 11th of November, still speaks of the "mad youth" who will be Lord Lovat on his Lordship's death, which he considers near at hand, "as well as colonel of his rebellious regiment." He is very easy about his "obstreperous and unnatural son, and the mad people that feed him in his false ambition, but the thoughts and fears of seeing the honest family of Lovat demolished and extinguished in our day pierces" his "heart and soul with most melancholy thoughts," which would be enough to kill him though he had no stitches nor pains in his body, considering what he had done and suffered to restore it and

bring it out of the hands of the Mackenzies. He feels quite certain, so long as the President and the Earl of Loudon please, he will be quite safe and unmolested at Beaufort, for the Government would never grant a warrant against him or any man in the Highlands without their joint representation. "As to my clan," he says, "I wish with all my heart that the villains and rascals of them that were guilty of any illegal, base, and barbarous actions, were seized and severely chastised and punished, but I believe they are marched South in the regiment of that unhappy youth to screen themselves from justice, and I would be very glad that the fifth man of them were hanged. But, my dear Lord, as to the honest gentlemen and tenants who stayed at home for love of me and for love of peace and quietness, it would be the hardest case in the world that those honest people should be molested in their persons or effects, since they have done no harm, and that they are fully resolved to live peaceably and quietly with me in my country, and be as obedient and submissive to the King and Government as any people in the North of Scotland; which I will answer for or renounce any protection to myself or to my people from the Government. I therefore most humbly beg, my dear Lord, you may save those poor people that stayed at home for love of me, notwithstanding of the threats and menaces that were used against them. As to what the Earl of Loudon says of dragging men out of their beds to force them to the rebellion, it's what I never heard of till I had the honour of his Lordship's letter. I truly think it was not done in this country, otherwise I would have heard of it; and I was told every day that the fellows were readily inclined themselves to go, without any force"; and he was also told that several young fellows from other districts, whom he had never seen before, came and offered themselves as volunteers to his son, the Master.

The Lord President in an undated letter, but apparently written within a day or two, says—

"I have the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 14th inst., and am sorry to be obliged to say it has not given me the satisfaction I

expected ; the protection, however, given to your Lordship and your family shall be exactly maintained unless express orders to the contrary come from the Government, which may come by a Sloop of War, which I look for soon from the river. I have learned with no small concern that considerable numbers of your Lordship's kindred have at last left their homes and are on their way southward, though they have not yet marched many miles off ; and I have received certain information that violence and severe threats have been used with some of them before they could be prevailed upon to go along. Now, as my duty absolutely requires my endeavouring by all possible means to prevent the junction of these men with the rebels, and as my wishes are strong to prevent the destruction of these men by bringing them back to their duty before it is too late, I find myself obliged to march into your Lordship's country with a body of his Majesty's troops to lay hold of such as have been accessory to the stirring up of the rest ; to endeavour by the same means that have been used to force them into the rebellion to draw them from it ; and to take an account of the names of such of them as I shall not find at their homes ; to the end their return to live again in quiet, after they shall have given all the disturbance they can to his Majesty's Government, may be for ever prevented. And as no man is more deeply concerned to have those inconveniences obviated than your Lordship, or better qualified to obviate them by letting the unhappy men timeously know their danger if they do not immediately return to their homes, I have presumed to give your Lordship this notice of my resolutions previous to putting them in execution, that as little harm may happen to your Lordship or to your people as is possible. And I shall look for a precise answer from your Lordship to what I now have the honour to acquaint you with, by to-morrow, because I cannot be answerable to defer using the means that are in my hands any longer. It will give me great satisfaction, if the step I now take shall be the means of preserving your Lordship and your people, and this pleasure I shall have, even if it miscarry, that your Lordship must be satisfied I have done all in my power to avoid extremities."

Lord Lovat must have replied to the foregoing in a letter which has not been preserved, for on the 22nd of November, the President writes the Fraser chief another letter in which he says—

"I had the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 19th, with an account of your son's proceeding in Urquhart, according to the information received. That account gave me no small surprise ; and I must confess to your Lordship it would have given me no small satisfaction if I could have depended on it being true ; because it would have been evidence of the Master's giving up the desperate cause into

which he had been unhappily seduced ; and so early a change, before any considerable mischief was done, would, I should hope, in a reign so clement as what we have at present the happiness to live under, obliterate the past errors of a youth, whose want of years and experience might make him an easy prey to designing men. But then, my Lord, before I can permit myself to receive any real pleasure from this prospect, or to depart from the resolutions with which I acquainted your Lordship in my last, I must be thoroughly satisfied that the information your Lordship received is true ; that the Master has returned to his duty, and all the men who had been brought together are returned to their habitations. Of the certainty of these things your Lordship must be sufficiently informed before this time ; and I have hitherto deferred writing to your Lordship on that subject, that you might be able to satisfy me. I now give your Lordship the trouble of this message, begging that, without loss of time, I may know what I am to believe and rely on, in respect to those matters, to the end I may proceed in my resolutions, or vary them according to circumstances ; and on the supposition that the men have been dismissed and are returned to their homes, what security am I to expect that they shall not again be assembled to give further disturbance to his Majesty's Government ? That this may be affected with as little inconvenience to them or disturbance to your Lordship as possible is what I earnestly wish."

Lord Lovat was at the same time also in communication with the Earl of Loudon, for it appears from the following letter from the Earl, dated "November 1745," but without the day of the month, that he had received a communication from Lord Simon, written on the 22nd of that month. Lord Loudon says—

"The first part of the letter which you did me the honour to write to me on the 22nd, acquainting me that all your people had returned to their homes from Urquhart, where they had been alongst with your son, protecting the tenants of his cousin, the Laird of Grant, from the Macdonells, who are in arms against the Government, gave me much pleasure, because I expected before I had done to have read that to so good a step the Master had added one more—the abandoning that ruinous enterprise into which his youth had suffered him to be dragged, and the giving all reasonable satisfaction that the Government should meet with no further disturbance from your Lordship's clan. But I must confess, my Lord, I was somewhat surprised that a letter which began so hopefully should conclude with apprehensions that your son may still persist in his mad project and draw numbers of your kinsmen, with whom he had twenty times more to say than your

Lordship, alongst with him ; and notwithstanding all this, hoping that I will not blame your Lordship, nor harass your poor country, or begin what your Lordship calls the cruel part of the war in it. That even to your Lordship there appears to be danger that this unhappy young man (for whom I have all the compassionate concern possible) may draw the greatest part of your clan after him into the rebellion lays me under an absolute necessity of trying to prevent it *coute qu'il coute* ; for I cannot answer the suffering a body of men, who have been in arms attending a young gentleman, whose avowed purpose it is to lead them against his Majesty, to assemble again in the like manner. My duty and the oaths I am under forbid it ; and I am confident of your Lordship's approbation, as you are under the same oaths. As to what your Lordship writes of beginning a cruel war in your country, it is the thing in the world the furthest from my thoughts. The people have no more to do to be absolutely safe but to be quiet and give me reasonable satisfaction that they will continue to be so ; but if they put, or continue themselves in a warlike posture, it is they that begin the war against his Majesty ; and it is just they should expect the consequences ; for, to tell your Lordship the truth, when a kindred is illegally assembled, as your Lordship's has been frequently of late, to draught men, some for marching directly to make war upon the King and others for staying at home to protect their country, the distinction between these classes of men, in point of guilt or innocence, is too fine for me to perceive. And, were it the case of any clan other than your own, for whom your Lordship has so warm an affection, I am persuaded you would no more relish it than I do ; and though it be your own, when your Lordship recollects how barbarously they use you in siding with your son against you, to the imminent ruin of your family, and even to the danger of your person, should the Government entertain suspicion and give orders on account of their conduct, I should hope your Lordship will not feel for their sufferings, should that, because of their obstinacy, be the case, so much as you do at present. But what I flatter myself with, because I most wish it, is that all this may be prevented by their remaining quiet, and giving me reasonable satisfaction that they shall continue so ; the nature of which I hope to have your Lordship's ultimate thoughts of, in answer to my last of the 22nd, at least in answer to this, for which I will wait till—— ; unless what I am informed of, that the Stratherrick people continue assembled in two different places (notwithstanding of what your Lordship has assured me of), shall be confirmed ; or that there shall be fresh gathering of men in the Aird. In either of which cases, your Lordship will, I know, excuse me for doing what my duty requires of me.

Writing to Prince Charles from Beaufort, early in November, 1745, at the very same time that he was

writing so full of loyalty to the Lord President, Lord Lovat says—

“Most Royal Prince,—I reckon it the great misfortune of my life, and which has occasioned me more grief and sorrow than any cross incident that ever happened to me, that my long indisposition and severe pains and tortures that I suffered for a long time deprived me of the vast joy and honour I would have had in kissing your Royal Highness’ hands and in venturing my old person before your eyes. And as my dear masters and Sovereigns, your Royal father and grandfather, never had a more faithful and zealous subject than I have been to their Royal persons and interests since I had the use of my reason, so nothing in this world could give me so much pleasure as to signalise myself and end my days in the service of your Royal Highness, where I would not be useless, having been bred to the war by the best masters in Europe these fifty years past. But now, finding myself a perfect invalid, not able to mount a horseback nor to walk half-a-mile, and consequently not able to exert myself either as a soldier or as a General Officer, which my dear master, your Royal father, was pleased to make me above forty years ago. Finding myself in this unhappy, cruel situation of not being able to pay my duty to your Royal Highness in every respect, I did resolve to give your Royal Highness the next mark of my greatest zeal that I am capable of if it was to gain your Royal Highness ten Kingdoms, and that is to send my eldest son, the bearer of this letter, and the great hopes of my family and the darling of my soul, to venture his life and his young person in your Royal Highness’ service. And I hope that his great zeal and forwardness to serve your Royal Highness in every shape you please to command him will be a proof that he is my true son. I have sent along with him all the principal gentlemen and heads of families of my clan, with eight hundred of my common people of his own choice. And it is singular in my clan that of thirteen or fourteen hundred men that are on my property they are all Frasers, and there is not twenty of them of any other clan. Both history and tradition tell us that the clan of the Frasers always behaved well; and now when they have a most glorious and brave Prince at their head, I truly rather hear of my son’s death and of all my clan that went along with him, than to hear of their misbehaviour, which would soon put my grey head with sorrow to the grave, but I do not in the least fear it. I therefore deliver my son and my clan most heartily and frankly to your Royal Highness to do with them what in your Royal Highness’ goodness and pleasure you think fit. I hope there is none of your Royal Highness’ friends or servants that has come to this country but will do me the justice to declare that I am and always have been the most zealous and most active partisan that your Royal Highness has in the North of Scotland, and in that I

own but I did my duty. This letter is already longer than in good manners I ought to have troubled your Royal Highness with. But as I have a great many essential things to lay before your Royal Highness, I will make a memorial of them and give them in to my good friend Mr Murray, your Royal Highness' Secretary of State, that he may represent to your Royal Highness what is in it when you are at leisure. I pray God preserve your Royal Highness' person and give you success and glory in all your enterprises, as you have had hitherto; and I am, while I live, ready to lose the last drop of my blood, and with as great zeal as any man on earth. Most glorious and most Royal Prince, your Royal Highness' most constant and most faithful slave."

Although this letter, along with the one which follows it addressed to Donald Cameron of Lochiel, was written about the 1st of November, neither of them were dispatched to the parties, for various reasons, until the 14th of January, 1746. It will be observed that the Master of Lovat, who in his father's letters to Lord President Forbes and to the Earl of Loudon has been constantly described, and is so still, as a fool, a rash, obstinate, obstreperous, stubborn, disobedient, ungrateful, mad, and unnatural monster of a son, "who flew in his (father's) face like a wild cat," is in the foregoing letter from Lovat to Prince Charles described as "a true son" and "the great hopes of my family and the darling of my soul"; while he is himself and "always has been the most zealous and most active partizan" that the Prince ever had in the Highlands of Scotland.

On the same date, Lord Lovat writes to Donald Cameron of Lochiel a long letter, from which the following is abridged:—

"The base and treacherous behaviour of our wretched cousin, the Laird of Macleod, has almost cost me my life already. The night before he took his journey to the Isle of Skye from this house, sitting by me, he looked up seriously, and swore to me, that as he should answer to God, and wished that God would never have mercy on him, and that he might never enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but that his bones might rot on earth, be burnt, and his ashes blown up in the air, if he did not come with all speed imaginable, and with all his men that was already prepared, and come and join my son and the clan Fraser, and march South with them to the Prince's service, wherever he was. He swore the same terrible oaths and imprecations next day

to my son and to your faithful servant, Gortuleg ; and if he had kept his oaths and word, I had so managed this part of the North, that about 6000 men had marched South to the Prince's assistance, which I thought would much encourage his loyal party and frighten the English to his obedience. But when I got Macleod's letter, about twelve days after, in which he told me that after deliberating fully with his neighbour, Sir Alexander (Macdonald), and weighing the arguments on both sides, he and his neighbour had resolved to stay at home, and not to trouble the Government. In reading this line I had almost fainted, and my body swelled with anger and vexation, so that I could not sleep nor eat for several days ; and I am yet far from being recovered, for I have a severe stitch and pain in my left side, which keeps me from my night's rest, and has entirely taken away my appetite, so that I believe the treachery of that unnatural, ungrateful, and wicked man will be the occasion of my death very soon ; but before I die I resolved, if possible, to give such a mark of my zeal for my good master the King, and for the glorious, brave, Royal Prince, his son, that I believe few in Scotland would do but myself, I sent my eldest son, who is the great hopes of my family and the darling of my life and soul to venture his life and blood in the brave Royal Prince's service ; and he has all the gentlemen of my clan with him, except a few old gentlemen that are not able to travel. He has Struy, Culbokie, and Reelick, the principal heads of the Frasers this side of Lochness, and he has Foyers, Farraline, and Little Garth, as the principal heads of the family in Stratherrick and Abertarff ; and he has certainly taken with him the flower of my clan. I pray God preserve him and them, and influence them to fight gallantly before the brave Prince's eyes ; for I had much rather hear of my son's death and of my clan's than that they should misbehave, since history cannot show an occasion in which the Frasers misbehaved ; for I thank God, they were always known to be brave. The treacherous behaviour of the monstrous Laird of Macleod should put all relations and intimate friends on their guard not to fail one another ; for he has by his treachery and unnatural behaviour fixed upon himself the most infamous character of any man on earth. That traitor, instead of coming to this house, where he was always Mr, to join my son according to his promise, has marched by the other side of Kessock this day with 400 of his chosen men and gentlemen. I believe that after hearing that my son's regiment was in arms in this country he was afraid to pass through it, though it's the best way to Inverness. His fears were groundless ; for I would not hurt my mother's kin, though it was in my power. But if my son saw the Laird I believe he would shoot him, or bring him prisoner to the Prince, because of his abominable breach of oath and promises to him. When he sent a little sneaking gentleman here with his treacherous letters my son and Gortuleg made two bitter answers to them. When the little

gentleman sought my answer I told him to tell his chief that he was a traitor to the King and a murderer of my son and me, which he might be sure I would resent if I was able, but that I would never black paper to a man that had so basely betrayed me; that since he went to the devil I would leave him there, and have no more to do with him. Since you are justly the Royal Prince's great favourite I hope you will be so kind, dear cousin, as to make my court to his Royal Highness; for though it is my misfortune not to be able to follow him wherever he goes (which would be the delight and honour of my life) yet you can freely assure his Royal Highness that he has not a more faithful and zealous partisan in Scotland. And though I am not able to mount a horse's back or travel a foot, yet I have done his Royal Highness more service than any one of my rank in Britain, for I keep life and spirit in his affairs more than any man in the North; and though the President tells me plainly that I have forfeited life and fortune and that my person is not safe in this house, yet I am resolved to live and die with courage and resolution in my King and Royal Prince's service, and no death that they can invent can lessen my zeal or fright me from my duty."*

Robert Fraser, Lord Lovat's private secretary at the time, and who wrote these letters to his dictation, says in his evidence at his Lordship's trial for High Treason in March, 1747, that the following, addressed by Lovat to John Murray of Broughton, Secretary of State to Prince Charles, was written in December, 1745, but not sent to him until the 14th of January, 1746, along with the two already quoted and another to the Marquis of Tullibardine, under cover of one addressed to the Master of Lovat, on the last-named date, at Perth. The letter to John Murray was in the following terms:—

"I solemnly protest, dear sir, that it was the greatest grief of my life, that my indisposition and severe sickness kept me from going South to my dear brave Prince, and never parting with him while I was able to stand, but venture my old bones with pleasure in his service, and before his eyes, while I had the least breath within me; but when I found that, by pains and weakness in my knees, I lost the use of my limbs, I resolved to give a proof of my singular zeal for my dear master the King, and for my brave glorious Prince, that I truly believe few or none in Scotland would do but myself. I sent my eldest son, the hopes of my family, and the darling of my life, a youth about nineteen years old, who was just going abroad to finish his

* *Lord Lovat's Trial*, pp. 138-139.

studies and education, after having learned with applause what is taught in our Scots Universities, and was graduate Master of Arts. But instead of sending him abroad to complete his education I have sent him to venture the last drop of his blood in the glorious Prince's service ; and as he is extremely beloved and the darling of the clan, all the gentlemen of my name and clan (which I thank God ! are numerous and look well, and always believed to be as stout as their neighbours) are gone with him. There is not the head of an old family or tribe of my name or clan in this country that have stayed at home ; only a few old gentlemen, infirm like myself, that was not able to travel ; and as my son is adored by the common people of my clan, he has brought along with him a considerable number of the best of them, in two handsome battalions ; and if they were as well armed and equipped as I could wish, they would look as well as any clan that went south this year, for as I possess the largest and best estate in the shire, I have a great number of commons on my property, about 1500 good and bad, and that which is very singular is that in that 1500 there are not 30 but what are Frasers, which no chief in the Highlands can say of his clan but myself ; for most of them are mixed with men of all the other clans. I flatter myself that my son will behave well at the head of my people ; and I am sure every one of them will be ready to live or die with him ; and if he lives, I hope he will be a useful servant to the King and Prince and an honour to his family ; for he has very good parts and learning for his age. And since I am like to make my exit very soon out of this troublesome world, and that I thank God, I have served my King faithfully from my infancy till now ; and that it is well known by all the gentlemen in the King's interest in the North that for many years past I was the life and spirit of the King's affairs in these countries ; and as I made it my only business to encourage and keep up the hearts of the King's friends, it was very fatiguing and troublesome to me and vastly expensive by my extravagant housekeeping and giving away often a little money to the King's friends that wanted it much, and from whom I never expect any payment ; and now I give the last proof of my uncommon and unalterable zeal for my dear master the King in sending what is dearest to me in the world, my eldest son and my clan, to venture their lives with the glorious Prince Royal, and under his eyes."*

On the 1st of December, within a month of writing the foregoing letters to Lochiel, and John Murray, Secretary to Prince Charles, the King referred to in them being of course the Prince's father, Lovat writes to the Lord President—

"I have had many proofs of your Lordship's sincere friendship for my person and my family ; but there was never a period of my life

that made me so much the object of compassion so much as I am at the writing of this letter. My very enemies, if they knew the unsupportable griefs of my soul this morning must sympathise with a man so disconsolate and void of comfort. I dare not descend to particulars. My son has left me under silence of last night, contrary to my advice, contrary to my expectations, and to my earnest request, and the consequences of his doing so are terrible to me beyond expression, though I declare I could not have done more to save my own life and the lives of my clan than I have done, by smooth and rough usage, to detain him at home. This is a subject so melancholy that I can neither talk nor write about it, and therefore I have sent the bearer (Hugh Fraser), who has the honour to be known to your Lordship, to make a faithful report of the uprightness of my conduct in the matter."

The Lord President replies the next day as follows—

"Your letter of yesterday, which was delivered to me this afternoon, gave me infinite concern, as it shows me too evidently to what hazard the act of that rash (but in my opinion deserving) young man exposes not only himself and your kindred and family, in a very little course of time, but even your person, for which he of all mortals ought to have the greatest regard, and that immediately. You never did, as far as I have seen your correspondence with the Earl of Loudon, absolutely engage that the young man should not play the fool, nor that several idle people of the clan might not follow him, but by your letter of yesterday to his Lordship you took the merit of dispersing some of his companies, and prevailing with some of his officers to remain at home. Now, my Lord, suppose the Master should actually march, and that, notwithstanding those hopes given any considerable number of the kindred should attend him, without mentioning what orders may come from above upon the report of their arrival at Perth, what do you think my Lord Loudon must instantly do, who may look upon himself as duped by the security into which the hopes flung out by your Lordship drew him, and may apprehend the severest reprimand for having suffered himself to be lulled asleep by the fair words given by your Lordship, whilst he had 1300 Highlanders at Inverness, and 200 not far from it, ready to prevent the march of any numbers to join the rebels. I will not say to your Lordship what service my advice may have been of for your Lordship's protection hitherto, but I should not act the part of an honest man, if I did not tell you that however strong the inclination may continue to be, the power may fail if the Master, with any number of the kindred, pursue the course which you mention, and should the Master for a whim prove so unnatural, and the kindred that dare presume to follow him, leaving your Lordship opposed to misfortunes inevitable in so advanced an age, will be of all monsters the most ungrateful, considering

what you have done and suffered for them. I wish I could prophecy and I would fairly tell you what would become of the Master, but as I cannot I must be silent upon that subject, since I have not authority to say that he will be safe, and I would not mislead ; but if my earnest wishes do not mislead me, I should hope much will be indulged to his years, if he carry the matter no further than hitherto he has done, though if the matters go further, and he should stand in the same class with those that are now at Perth, I cannot answer for what may happen not only to him but to the estate to which he is the presumptive heir, though your Lordship was entirely out of the question."

On the same day Lord Lovat writes to the Earl of Loudon from Beaufort, still protesting his innocence regarding the conduct of his son and clan, and blasphemously calling God to witness to a statement which he knows at the time to be absolutely false. He addresses the Earl as if the remarkable letters to Prince Charles, Lochiel, and John Murray of Broughton, had never been written—

"Yesterday I had the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 2nd of this month wherein you are so good to acquaint me of the march you then intended and have since made to Fort-Augustus ; and that your Lordship had suspended your march to the Aird, and was resolved to put my people of Stratherrick under no hardship in your way through that country. This instance of your Lordship's moderation lays me under fresh obligations to you which I would so gladly repay had I an opportunity, as at all times I shall gratefully acknowledge them ; and till that opportunity fall in my way, I hope you will be so just as to look upon me as a man attached to your Lordship by all the ties of gratitude and respect. I hope your Lordship met with nothing in Stratherrick to provoke you to depart from your friendly purpose with respect to that country ; and without provocation I know your Lordship has too much goodness to do it. It's true there are some rascals belonging to that place, who deserve the worst of treatment for their misconduct, and there is some of that stamp even in this country ; but, as I have often said to your Lordship, I hope you will never think that misfortune a sufficient reason for distressing the rest, and much less to fix any load of blame on me, who had no more accession to their faults than the child unborn, but on the contrary have used, and shall continue to use, my utmost endeavours to keep them and all the other people upon my estate within the bounds of their duty. I must acknowledge, indeed, that I have not had that influence with them that I expected ; but still, my Lord, the greatest and better part of them have listened to me, and I hope will always do so. The information of my son's having left this house came, it

seems, to your Lordship's ears sooner than it did to mine ; for, I declare to you, with unfeigned sincerity, that I neither suspected such a thing, nor had the least whisper of it, till the forenoon of the day after that in which I had the honour to write last to your Lordship, and when it was told me, I declare, before God, I was thunderstruck with the dismal report. I have not yet been able to learn what influenced him to take that step, nor the views he may have formed to himself from it ; but this I dare affirm with truth, that not a man of the Companies I dispersed have either gone to him or expressed [an intention] of doing it, so that in this particular your Lordship's informers are injurious to me and to these people."

The double part played throughout by Lord Lovat was now so well known and felt to be so dangerous to the peace of the country and to the State that it was resolved to arrest him. Meantime, on the 3rd of December, the Earl of Loudon proceeded with 600 men in the severest frost ever experienced, through the Fraser country of Stratherrick, to the relief of Fort-Augustus, now invested by the Frasers. Here he met with no opposition, and having supplied the garrison with all that it required, returned to Inverness on the 8th, after letting the Stratherrick men know what they might expect should they leave their homes to join the disaffected. It having now been resolved to arrest Lord Lovat, and to obtain satisfaction from him as to the future peaceable conduct of the Frasers in the Aird district, two companies of Mackenzies, which had been posted near Brahan, were brought into Inverness on Monday the 9th, and on the following day the Earl of Loudon, at the head of 800 men, marched out to Beaufort, where, after considerable difficulty, excuses, and delay, he prevailed upon Lord Lovat to accompany him to Inverness on the 11th to live under his own personal observation until the arms in possession of the clan should be brought in to the authorities.

The following interesting account of Lord Loudon's difficulty in getting Lovat to accompany him to Inverness is given in a letter, dated Inverness, 12th of December, 1745, from a Mr William Mackay, who formed one of the officers of the party, to William Earl of Sutherland. Mackay says—

"Tuesday last, Lord Loudon marched with your Lordship's two companies, two of Seaforth's, Grant's, Culcairn's, Lord Reay's, and

100 of his own regiment to Castle Dounie, where we arrived betwixt three and four in the afternoon. The Lyon (who was in our company) and Culcairn went in to capitulate with Lovat, and upon telling Loudon's resolutions, he assured them under the strongest ties of honour that by ten o'clock next day he would peaceably surrender himself to Loudon, and cause all his people come in with their arms and deliver them also, upon which we all got billets upon the tenants of the neighbourhood. But in the gloaming the Master of Lovat appeared to us with 120 men, as we then judged, at a distance, which served us all for sleep and beds that night. Next morning we all convened and depended so far upon Lovat's promise that we all thought there was no stop. But, as we were marching by the house, the Lyon and Culcairn came out and told Loudon that Lovat was not that day in good health, and consequently could not march. Lord Loudon returned them with a message that he could accept of no apologies; but in the event he would not come out immediately he would use all his force to oblige him. Upon which we all formed in a clap about the house, and a couple of cowhorns levelled to the broadside of it. Upon which Lovat begged a communion with Loudon, and only insisted for three days to settle his affairs, and desired Lord Loudon to leave a detachment of his troops with him, to enable him to force his people to lay down their arms, because they were all past his management. Lord Loudon replied that he hoped to dispose of his Majesty's troops to better purpose, and that, as he very well understood, he had his people under as good management as any, he first would carry him, and afterwards consider how to manage the people in the event they would give any trouble for the future. Lovat still insisted to be left, though but for one day. At last Loudon told him to pack immediately, otherwise he would begin the work, for that he did not choose to loose any man's neck out of the halter at the expense of his own. At last the coach was desired to be ready. But the servants were as lazy as the master, till Lord Loudon was obliged to call for one of his sergeants to yoke the horses, and his Lordship stood by and saw the thing done. At last the old devil was tackled out, and we cleverly drove him before us to this place.*

On their arrival in Inverness Lord Lovat promised that the arms of the clan should be delivered there to Lord Loudon by Saturday night, the 14th, but excused himself from being held answerable for the Master and "some of the mad young men of his name," whose actions, he protested, he could not control, and two or three hundred of whom it was known had already proceeded in small parties to join the army of Prince Charles at Perth. The Lord

* *The Sutherland Book*, vol. ii., pp. 93-94.

President, conveying this information to the Marquis of Tweeddale in a long letter dated the 22nd of December, says that "the surrender of the arms was all that could well be expected from him. As there was no direct evidence of his accession to his son's treason, of which he was perpetually complaining, and as committing on suspicion a man so aged and seemingly so infirm would have had the appearance of cruelty, therefore Loudon determined to await the delivery of the arms," but the old fox was too astute for his captor. "Instead of delivering the arms at the time prefixed, excuses were made and fresh promises which continued from day to day till last Thursday (the 19th), when Lord Loudon, finding himself deluded, clapped sentries on the gate of the house where he resided resolving to commit him next morning to the Castle, but in the night time Lovat found means to get out at a back passage which was not suspected (as indeed his attempting an escape in his state of health was what no one dreamed of), and to be conveyed away probably on men's shoulders, but whither we have not yet (22nd of December) learned."

John Grant, factor for Urquhart, writing to Ludovick Grant of Grant from Balmacaan, on the 20th of December says—"There's eight companies of the Frasers at Perth. The Master of Lovat has not gone as yet."

On the 2nd of January, 1746, Donald Cameron, younger of Lochiel, Ewen Macpherson of Cluny, and John Murray of Broughton, wrote to Lord Lovat a long letter signed by all three from Glasgow, by direction of Prince Charles, in the course of which they say—

"Your Lordship's firm and steady behaviour, in spite of all the underhand dealings, as well as open threats of the Lord Loudon, and your neighbour the President (who has rendered himself a scandal to all Scotsmen and a nuisance to all society) together with the early, noble, and generous appearance of the Master of Lovat in the cause of his King and country, has not only gained your Lordship the admiration of this Island, but has settled the affection and friendship of the Prince for your family upon a more firm and solid foundation than, we dare venture to say, it was ever on with any of the Royal family of Stuart, notwithstanding your Lordship's many heavy sufferings in that cause; and this, my Lord, we don't assure you from ourselves alone

but by his Royal Highness' special and repeated orders. Now, my Lord, allow us to congratulate you upon your happy escape from Inverness. Had it been any other, we could not possibly have given credit to it, from the circumstances of the story, but knowing by what address Lord Lovat has so often extricated himself from difficulties, insurmountable by the rest of mankind, we could not allow ourselves to form the least doubt of the truth of it, and are now only in pain to think of the fatigue you must have undergone, and the danger your health must have run, in so sudden a change of your usual way of living."

Having described "the glorious retreat his Royal Highness made from within four score miles of London," and some of the most stirring incidents which occurred on the way, such as the attack upon his army, the repulse of the enemy at Penrith, and the prospects of further success in the future, the letter proceeds—

"And now, my Lord, the only proper means that appear to us, in common with all the Prince's well-wishers, to bring this to the wished for issue, is your Lordship's openly appearing in arms, and joining the Royal standard, in which case, we are certain, that there is not a man beyond the Forth, however timorous or cautious (except some few who have already destined themselves to perdition), but will appear with the greatest alacrity and cheerfulness; but, not to take up too much of your Lordship's time, what his Royal Highness above all things wishes and desires is to have your Lordship with him to take upon you the command of the army; for though the Prince knows that your Lordship's age makes it impossible for you to undergo the drudgery part of a General, yet he is sensible that your advice and counsel will be of greater value than the addition of several thousand men. Though your Lordship has your own equipage, yet we are apt to believe the Prince's coach and six (of which he himself makes no use) will be a convenient voyture for your Lordship, and the French Ambassador, with Lord Pitsligo, who has been in it all along, won't prove disagreeable company. In short, it is impossible for us to give the hundredth part of the reasons that make us so sensible of the absolute necessity of having your Lordship about the Prince's person, which you will be fully satisfied of at meeting."*

On the same date and from the same place the Prince himself, referring to the foregoing letter, wrote the following in his own hand:—

"I have just now read a letter written to you by Lochiel, Cluny, and Murray, and you may depend on its containing my true sentiments as much as if it was writ by my own hand. I shall only add to

* *Lord Lovat's Trial*, pp. 149-150.

it that you cannot do me either more pleasure or more service than by coming to join me out of hand ; and then you need doubt as little as I do of our being perfectly satisfied with one another.

“(Signed) CHARLES P. R.”

While at Perth, a few days later, the Master of Lovat wrote to his father, then at Stratherrick, a letter which is not dated, but which must have been written between the 10th and 13th of January, for his Lordship acknowledges receipt and replies to it on the 14th. After apologising to his father for not having written to him sooner, “as I did not know but you might be on terms with Lord Loudon and the President after making your escape,” he goes on to say —“As I saw your Lordship’s safety and the King’s interest required an expedition to the North, I left no stone unturned to bring it about. I therefore, immediately on hearing of the Prince’s being at Glasgow, dispatched my Captain-Lieutenant (who was of great use in urging this matter on the people at Perth) to Glasgow to negotiate the affair there. He is not as yet returned, but I make no doubt, how soon the affair at Stirling is ended, but a proper body of troops will be ordered to clear the North, and sooner the art of man cannot bring it about.” He then proposed a course of action to his father of which the latter did not approve and brought from him a reply containing information which was evidently new to the son and will prove interesting to the reader. The Master continues—

“As to your Lordship’s conduct in the meantime, if I might give an advice, it would be, not to lose on both sides. I am far from meaning by this that you should come to Perth ; so far from it that, provided your Lordship could make conditions for your person and estate with Lord Loudon and the President, I should be content with a thin regiment ; but in case they have neither authority nor inclination to give this I humbly think you should immediately come to a resolution and put it in execution ; for if your Lordship’s clan do not all immediately join the Prince the cause will soon be found out. I would not care if your Lordship’s person and estate were preserved by their stay ; but it will be hard, if it does not better your condition with the Government when it must evidently make it worse with the Prince.”

It is evident from another paragraph in this letter that his Lordship had been urging the Master to return to the

North for the purpose of enlisting more of the clan. To this proposal the son replies—

“As to my going North, I know your Lordship's influence over your clan too well to think that, where your orders fail my presence will have any weight. I'm certain your commands, though only intimated by your officers, will do in a day more than my presence would do in a week; and I am persuaded that your people will come to a man if you order them; and if you do not that they will stay at home, so that their coming or not entirely depends upon your Lordship. Besides, my going North at this time would look a little odd, when the Prince is come to Scotland, has sent us his positive order, and let us know that he himself is to come and command us in person. That I should at such a critical time run home would look ill, and the pretext (as it would be called) of recruiting men would not screen me from an imputation your Lordship, I'm sure, would always wish me to shun. These reasons, I dare say, (will) convince your Lordship that my going is not only unnecessary but very improper at this time.”*

To this Lord Lovat replies on the 14th of January, 1746, at great length and detail. Having complimented his son on his writing and diction, his Lordship says—

“I must tell you, my dear child, that you advance several things in it that are not just and that you cannot support in reason. In the first place, your reason for your not writing to me before, since I made my escape (though I accept of your excuse) was neither just nor relevant; for it was not to be supposed that either Loudon or the President would be in terms with me so soon after having so signally affronted them. But, in the second place, it is impossible there could be any terms 'twixt Lord Loudon, the President, and me that should keep you from writing me; no, if I should be attainted. So your reason for not writing to me was ill-founded. As to your advice that comes in immediately after it, in representing to me that if I could make my peace with Loudon and the President and save my person and estate that you would content yourself with a thin regiment, this thought, my dear child, was not at all digested, and entirely ignorant to my circumstances; for, in the first place, Loudon can no more save my person and estate than one of your subalterns can; nay, they cannot as much as engage to make me free from prison for any time; so that it would be madness for me to make any terms with them, but to speak civilly and to keep myself out of their way. But the fact is, my dear child, which you forget or perhaps that I did not take pains to inform you of, that about seven years ago I was one of those that entered into a formal Association to venture our lives and fortunes to

* *Lord Lovat's Trial*, pp. 144-145.

restore the King and his offspring, and we signed our mutual engagements for this purpose with our hands and seals, and sent it to France to the Cardinal de Fleury, then first minister of France, by the hands of Mr William Drummond of Bochaldy. The Cardinal was so pleased with it that he showed our engagements and subscriptions to the King his master, and begged of his Majesty to support us ; and the King desired the Cardinal to assure us of his protection, and that he would (lend) us his assistance and succours to restore our King. When Mr Drummond acquainted my own King of this proof of my loyalty and of my constant zeal for his person and interest from my younger years till now, (he) gave me evident proofs of his goodness and favours towards me since, as much as to any subject. He gave Mr Drummond a Commission to carry to me of General of the Highlanders, which I have ; and several letters writ with the King's own hand, that his Majesty would pay all the money I paid Fraserdale and his creditors for the estate of Lovat ; and last of all, the King was so good as to give such a singular mark of his favour to me and my family that he created me Duke of Fraser, etc., and sent me that patent by William Drummond, of which I have an authentic copy, signed and countersigned by the King. I would be a monster of ingratitude if this did not attach me to his Majesty more than ever. Bochaldy, not thinking it safe to bring the patent to Britain, left it with his uncle, old Lochiel, at Boulogne, in France, who is now come over with Lord John Drummond, his colonel ; and I hope he has taken the patent along with him. So, my dear child, since that Association, I made it my business wherever I was to promote the King's interest and to gain and engage faithful subjects to serve him, so that I have done more against this Government than would hang fifty lords and forfeit fifty estates. I have therefore nothing for it now but to promote everything that is for my dear Prince's honour and interest, and nothing made me ever speak so much as a fair word to Lord Loudon, or the President, but to endeavour to save my person from prison, since I was not able to go to the field ; but since that is over, and that I have no safety from prison but by being in hills and woods and inaccessible places my greatest desire under the sun is that you should make a good and handsome figure in the Prince's army, which I wish and I am as anxious to see done as yourself, and would do as much for it as I would do to save my life or to keep myself from prison, which would soon be death for me. And as Loudon told me the day before I made my escape, that he had as much to say against me as would hang all the Frasers of my clan, I have no reason to hedge or dissemble with any man of the Government ; so you may assure yourself that I will put all irons in the fire to send you South all the men that's engaged with you and as many more as I can."

His Lordship then goes on to tell the Master that he is

making up with all the haste possible a habitation for himself in the House of Muily ; for that country is the strongest hold in Scotland, and he will make a hundred men defend it against all the forces that King George can have in Scotland. Besides, he has ordered a boat to be made to carry him in and out to the Island of Muily when he pleases or finds it necessary, so that it was morally impracticable to attack him in that country, where he is determined to go, if possible, next week, provided the necessary accommodation is then ready for him. In the meantime he is resolved to stay at his "dear Gortuleg's house," which he reckons his home as much as if he were at Castle Dounie, until the required arrangements are made for him in Glenstrathfarrar. His Lordship adds a long postscript, in which he says—

"I send you enclosed the four letters you should have carried with you from Castle Dounie, which I hope you will have occasion to deliver out of your own hand. You may tell the Prince, when you deliver the letter to him out of your own hand, that your father thought it the greatest misfortune of his life that his sickness and infirmities deprived him of the honour of attending his Royal Highness wherever he went ; and that his only comfort now is, that he is capable to give his Royal Highness such a mark of his zeal as to send you and his kindred to venture your lives for him ; and that he himself is every day exposed to be made a prisoner and be sent to London to have his head struck off, since it can easily be proven against him that he has done more against the Government than any one of his rank in Britain, and hopes that, since by God's help he has made what may be called a miraculous escape out of the hands of his cruel enemy, he will yet expose his person, with his sword in his hand, to serve his Royal Highness and to do his duty before his eyes. And tell young Lochiel and John Roy that I expect that they will make my court and yours to his Royal Highness in every shape, and that they both know the entire trust and confidence I put in them."

Referring to Hugh Fraser, the Master's Captain-Lieutenant, his Lordship requests his service to him and to tell him,

"That I beg of him to remember all that I spoke to him about my Patent ; and when you talk seriously to him about it, I entreat that you both put all the irons in the fire you can to make the thing succeed. I ask nothing of his Royal Highness but to give his countenance and own publicly what his father has done for me, which if

he refuse, I must keep to the oath that I gave before to the Duke of Perth, the Earl of Traquair, Lochiel, and other gentlemen that first engaged in the present object with me, that I would never draw sword till that was done. And I cannot suppose or imagine that his Royal Highness will make the least scruple about it, since it is for his own honour and interest as well as for that of my family.”*

What a comment on his conduct during the preceding seven years, and especially his correspondence and professions of friendship with the Earl of Loudon and the Lord President these letters are! In the one to his son, the Master, he deliberately says—“Nothing made me ever speak as much as a fair word to Lord Loudon or the President but to endeavour to save my person from prison, since I was not able to go to the field and fight for my king.” That is, all his protestations of loyalty to the reigning family and personal regard for the Lord President was a mountain of deception from beginning to end! And for what? To save his miserable “person from prison!” Not even to save his family estates. That was to be gained by the success of the Stuart cause. Then, he informs his son, for the first time, that he had been busily plotting the overthrow of the ruling Royal family for a series of years. “Above seven years ago,” he says, “I was one of those that entered into a formal Association to venture our lives and fortunes to restore the King (James) and his offspring, and we signed our mutual engagements for this purpose with our hands and seals” and sent it to the King of France through Cardinal Fleury, his Prime Minister. When King James was made acquainted with these proofs of his Lordship’s loyalty to the exiled House, and of his “constant zeal for his person and interest,” he, among other marks of his favour, sent him a Commission as “General of the Highlanders,” and several letters written by his own Royal hand promising “that his Majesty would pay all the money I (Lord Lovat) paid Fraserdale and his creditors for the estate of Lovat”; and last, but not least, of all his goodness, he was gracious enough to create him “Duke of Fraser.”

* *Lord Lovat’s Trial*, pp. 141-143.

He would be "a monster of ingratitude" if this did not attach him to the Stuart family more than ever, and his conduct in showing his appreciation of all these favours, he confesses to his son—whom, as part of his scheme, he drove into the rebellion against his own will and judgment—that he had "done more against this (the existing) Government than would hang fifty lords and forfeit fifty estates."

That the Master was forced by his father against his will and better judgment to fight for Prince Charles—whose army he actually joined at the head of six hundred of the clan at Bannockburn, immediately before the battle of Falkirk, fought on the 17th of January, 1746—was completely established by the evidence produced at his Lordship's trial and otherwise, as will now be shown.

On the 10th of February the Prince was at Ruthven, in Badenoch, on his way north. The Master of Lovat had, by this time, gone home, and the Frasers had not as yet arrived at Ruthven.*

Mr Robert Chevis of Muirtown, examined by Sir John Strange as a witness in Lovat's trial, said that he knew his Lordship since 1733, that he was often in his company, and that the general turn of his conversation "was in favour of the Pretender and his family." He related a conversation he had with Lord Simon about the Spanish invasion of 1719, when Lovat told him of a letter he had written to Seaforth to encourage and desiring him to come down with his men, and that he should join him against the Government with all his vassals in favour of the Pretender. A full account of the sending of that letter and the other circumstances connected with it were given at pp. 353-355.

Then about John Roy Stuart, in 1736?

Sir John Strange asked—Who was Sheriff at the time?

Mr Chevis—My Lord Lovat. He came to Lord Lovat's house and was entertained there, for about six weeks, during which the witness was frequently there in his and Lord Lovat's company. He remembered when he (John Roy) was going abroad that the ship was prepared for him before

* *Chiefs of Grant*, vol. ii., p. 233.

he left Castle Dounie and that he was driven to it in Lord Lovat's chariot. He heard the noble Lord at the bar charging him with a message to the Pretender, whom he called upon to assure him (the Prince) of his fidelity and that he was determined to live and die in the cause. He, at the same time, charged him to expedite the sending to him by the Pretender of his Commission of Lieutenant-General of the Highlands and his Patent of a Duke.

This, it will be remembered, was about a year before he addressed his famous letter to the Earl of Islay protesting his unbounded loyalty to the reigning family.

Subsequently, in 1742, his Lordship owned to Mr Chevis that he had already received his Commission as a Lieutenant-General of the Highland Clans, and his Patent of a Duke of Fraser, "from his lawful Sovereign, King James VIII.," and that he was consequently placed in a position to humble his neighbours. When Ostend was taken by the French, Lord Lovat wrote Mr Chevis a letter in which he said that the coast of Flanders was now clear "and that the French would be over in one night's time and carry all before them." Mr Chevis was at Castle Dounie in September 1745, when a manifesto from the Pretender was produced and the Master was ordered by Lord Lovat to read it. His Lordship, after it was read, said "that he was to join the Pretender's party in that cause, and that he would live and die in that cause," adding that "he thought success was morally certain; as sure as light, as sure as God was in heaven, the Pretender would prevail." Mr Chevis himself was offered a Captain's commission by his Lordship to serve with the Frasers, but he refused it. He saw a rendezvous of as many as four, five, and six hundred men there. He never went back to Castle Dounie after the occasion on which the Pretender's proclamation was read.

Mr Robert Fraser, who was Lord Lovat's secretary from October, 1744, until he was taken prisoner along with him on the 7th of June, 1746, wrote letters, after Lovat received information by special messenger that Prince Charles had

landed on the West Coast of Scotland, to James Fraser of Foyers and John Fraser of Farraline to get their men ready to join the Master of Lovat, and he himself by order of the Chamberlain and with the knowledge of his Lordship, took lists of all the men capable of bearing arms on the Lovat property north of Lochness, with the view of their joining the Master in the Pretender's service. He knew his Lordship was aware of the list being prepared because he went into the room and told him that he was writing it.

The following question and answer followed regarding the Master's attitude, and the statements repeatedly made by his father that he was going out into the rebellion and taking away the men against his Lordship's will and orders :—

Solicitor-General—Do you know any message that was sent or passed between my Lord Lovat and Lord Loudon and the Lord President?

Robert Fraser—Yes.

Solicitor-General—What was it about?

Robert Fraser—Several letters were sent by my Lord Loudon and my Lord President to my Lord Lovat to dissuade him from entering the rebellion.

Solicitor-General—What answers did my Lord Lovat make to these letters?

Robert Fraser—He said his son was so obstinate as to enter into the rebellion; but that he could not help it.

Solicitor-General—Was that true—was the son so obstinate?

Robert Fraser—No; I am sure it was not true.

Solicitor-General—Why are you sure it was not true?

Robert Fraser—Because while I was preparing a letter to the Lord President, which my Lord Lovat dictated, wherein he acquainted them of his son's obstinacy in going into the rebellion (which letter my Lord directed me not to let anybody see) his son, the Master, came in and asked me for the letter; and I refusing to give it him, the son took the letter out of my hand.

Solicitor-General—Who took it out of your hand?

Robert Fraser—The Master of Lovat took it out of my hand; and after reading it said—"Good God, how is this! Accuse me behind my back! To call me stiff-necked and disobedient! I will set the saddle upon the right horse. If this letter goes I will go and discover all to my Lord President."

Solicitor-General—What did he mean by putting the saddle upon the right horse?

Robert Fraser—That he would go and discover to the Lord President that his father, my Lord Lovat, had forced him to do what he had done.

Solicitor-General—Did you hear anything that passed between Lord Lovat and his son about his backwardness in going into the rebellion?

Robert Fraser—I heard him blame the Master of Lovat for being dilatory in raising men to join the Pretender's son.

The witness then detailed at length the warlike preparations which were being made in the month of September. Bell tents, colours, bonnets, rendezvous, powder and bullets, meetings of officers, with white cockades in their bonnets, were prepared, collected, or paraded to his personal knowledge and by the authority of Lord Lovat.

Solicitor-General—Do you know of anything that happened at my Lord Lovat's after the battle of Prestonpans?

Robert Fraser—Fraser of Dalcrag came to Castle Dounie with an account of the battle of Prestonpans.

Solicitor-General—What did my Lord Lovat say to him on that occasion?

Robert Fraser—That his men would soon be ready to go south.

Solicitor-General—For what purpose.

Robert Fraser—To join the rebels.

Solicitor-General—Do you know of any men passing by my Lord Lovat's house?

Robert Fraser—My Lord Cromartie's regiment passed by, and he and the Macdonalds and several others, were entertained there that night.

Solicitor-General—Did you hear anything that passed on that occasion; anything that was said by my Lord Lovat about it?

Robert Fraser—Yes, that it was owing to the Master of Lovat's disobedience that the Frasers were not ready as soon as any other.

Solicitor-General—Was there anything else passed then, or any particular healths drunk?

Robert Fraser—Yes, the health of the Pretender's son was drunk by the name of Prince Charles.

Solicitor-General—Pray at what time did the Master of Lovat go and join the rebels?

Robert Fraser—It was between the 10th and 20th of December that he went. My Lord Lovat was taken prisoner on the 10th or

11th of December, and escaped about the 19th or 20th, and at the same time the Master marched with the Frasers.

Solicitor-General—Was my Lord Lovat extremely displeased at his son's so marching? or did he disapprove of it?

Robert Fraser—No.

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Solicitor-General—Did he send word for his son to come back again?

Robert Fraser—He did afterwards send word for him to come back, to raise more men.

Solicitor-General—Did you apprehend that the Master of Lovat carried his men into the rebel army without his father's permission?

Robert Fraser—No, I am very sure he could not.

Solicitor-General—Why are you sure of it?

Robert Fraser—Because my Lord Lovat is a very strict man; and none of his children could have done it without his consent.

Solicitor-General—Had my Lord Lovat a power over them?

Robert Fraser—Yes; he had a very great power over them.

Hugh Fraser, Younger of Dunballoch, in the course of his examination, corroborated Robert Fraser as to the reading of the Pretender's manifesto, the raising of the men, the purpose for which they were being raised, and, in answer to Sir Richard Lloyd, he said "that the Master could not have raised the men, except my Lord Lovat had countenanced the thing and it had been done by his permission," and he heard his Lordship say "more than once that his son was very slow in raising of the men"; and that was in dispraise of his dilatoriness.

Sir Richard Lloyd—Did you hear my Lord Lovat say anything of his own abilities or inabilities to raise men and head them?

Hugh Fraser—I have heard my Lord Lovat say that he was a tender, infirm man, and not able to go about those things himself.

Sir Richard Lloyd—Have you heard him wish himself younger?

Hugh Fraser—I have heard him say he wished himself younger, that he might go and command the men himself.

Sir Richard Lloyd—Command them in whose service?

Hugh Fraser—In the Pretender's service, that he was talking of.

Sir Richard Lloyd—Was any person present there besides yourself and my Lord Lovat when you were at his house?

Hugh Fraser—There were several persons there.

Sir Richard Lloyd—Did any conversation then pass or not about throwing off the mask?

Hugh Fraser—Yes; Mr Alexander Macleod (of Muiravonside) and several others of the country there were speaking about the Pre-

tender, and Mr Alexander Macleod said that much depended upon my Lord Lovat's throwing off his mask, or words to that purpose.

Sir Richard Lloyd—To whom did he say these words?

Hugh Fraser—To my Lord Lovat.

Sir Richard Lloyd—What answer did my Lord Lovat make to that?

Hugh Fraser—My Lord Lovat I saw take off his hat and put it on the ground, and heard him say "There it is then."

Sir Richard Lloyd—Do you remember any particular healths that were drank then?

Hugh Fraser—I have heard the Prince's health drank several times there at the table at Castle Dounie. My Lord Lovat was present at the table. I heard him say he was sure the Prince would prevail. I have heard my Lord Lovat say that he had ordered his factor to give an allowance, monthly or weekly, to the wives and children of the men that went south with his clan to the young Pretender.

Mr William Walker, who was for three years and a half in Lord Lovat's service, corroborated the other witnesses in most of the details of their evidence. He remembered being in the room on one occasion, with Lord Lovat when the Master came in soon after two companies of the Stratherrick men had been marched off to Perth.

Sir William Yonge—What passed there between them?

William Walker—When the Master came into the room, my Lord Lovat was speaking to him; I do not know what it was about.

Sir William Yonge—What did the Master do then?

William Walker—The Master rose up and took off his bonnet, and threw it upon the floor and damned the cockade.

Sir William Yonge—What did the father do upon that occasion?

William Walker—He rose in a passion and said, What could he do! and was forcing his son out. He could not understand the words that passed between them because Lord Lovat spoke in Gaelic. But the Master of Lovat went to the door and the Rev. Donald Fraser, the minister, stood up in his behalf. The father was forcing the son out, the very life of him.

Sir William Yonge—Do you know of any violence or force that was used to make the men rise?

William Walker—The Chamberlain forced them, and young Inverallochy. They threatened to burn their houses after the Battle of Culloden if they did not rise.

Sir William Yonge—But before that how did they threaten them?

William Walker—That they would take their cattle and plaids from them, if they did not rise. Lord Lovat was then a

prisoner to my Lord Loudon, and was then in his custody at Inverness.

Mr Hugh Fraser, who acted as secretary for Lord Lovat from April or May 1741 to the end of December 1744, and afterwards went to reside in Edinburgh, where he said he was living in September, 1745, corroborated what had been said by the preceding witnesses so far as it related to the period during which he was in his Lordship's service and again from September to the end of December 1745, when he returned to Castle Dounie on a special mission now to be explained.

William Fraser of Balnain, W.S., who also resided in Edinburgh, in the practice of his profession, and Hugh Fraser, had a meeting in September, at which it was resolved that Hugh should go north to arrange with Lord Lovat "upon the subject of his son's going out of Scotland, to avoid any censure or wrong interpretation that might be put upon his conduct as he was then in that country." The proposal was, that he should go abroad to Leyden, William Fraser to provide the necessary funds for a year, but to be afterwards repaid him by Lord Lovat. Hugh Fraser proceeded to Castle Dounie and submitted this suggestion to Lord Lovat, who at first "very much approved of the proposal and agreed to the thing." But "some days after" his Lordship said, "he did not think it quite convenient a thing and that he altered his mind" regarding it; and he added that it was his intention that the Master "should go into the rebellion" at the head of the Frasers. Lord Lovat also said that he had intended at first to go himself and lead them, but that he had changed his mind, and resolved that the Master should go instead. His Lordship expected that four or five thousand Highlanders could be brought together for himself to lead in person, "but as that was not then likely to happen" he intended to stay at home and "that the Master should go with the clan to head them." His Lordship further said that "some people had not acted up to their engagements," presumably the Macleods and the Macdonalds, which much disappointed him, and induced him

to alter his original resolution to lead the men in person.

While Hugh Fraser was at Castle Dounie, "about eight days after" the battle of Prestonpans, which was fought on the 21st of September, 1745, several gentlemen came to Lord Lovat's residence, who said they had been in that battle, and on hearing their account of it his Lordship said "that it was a victory obtained not to be paralleled in history." The gentlemen who brought the news were Archibald Macdonald, Younger of Barrisdale, and young Glengarry, who said that they were in the battle themselves and that they came north to levy more men to join the Prince's army; and Lord Lovat said that he thought they might raise five thousand. Fraser remained at Castle Dounie for about fourteen days, and when he left he was instructed by his Lordship to communicate to Prince Charles personally the purport of the conversation which he had heard, and in particular to tell him that his Lordship intended to have gone personally at the head of four or five thousand men, "but that his age and infirmities would not allow him to do that, and that he had resolved his son should head the Frasers and go into the rebellion instead," which, he said, "was a greater mark of his attachment and affections than if he had gone himself," having such a great regard for the Master as he professed to have. Hugh Fraser conveyed his Lordship's message to the Prince on his arrival in Edinburgh, where he remained until he again returned to the North in the beginning of October, carrying along with him, from Lochiel, Cluny, and John Murray to Lord Lovat the letter with which the reader is already acquainted, dated at Glasgow, the 2nd of January, 1746. On his arrival at Castle Dounie he made verbal representations to his Lordship regarding the strength of the respective parties, to the effect that the followers of the Prince could not ultimately prevail against the now largely increased disciplined forces of the King. His Lordship agreed, but said "that he thought himself too far engaged to look back," but he forbade Fraser to mention any of the conversation that passed between them to his son, the

Master. He heard Lord Lovat say, "that he apprehended the conduct of his clan upon this occasion would be his ruin and very probably cost him his life." In the month of November, about six or seven companies of the Frasers marched to Urquhart when he was at Castle Dounie, but they were afterwards recalled by a letter from Lord Lovat, and they all complied except about twenty-five men. These companies were not at first accompanied by the Master, who only followed them to induce them to return. Hugh Fraser went along with him. They called the officers together, but Macdonald of Barrisdale prevailed upon them, against the Master's solicitations, to march. They, however, returned afterwards on receipt of the letter from Lord Lovat himself already referred to. He, Hugh Fraser, was sent by his Lordship to the Lord President and the Earl of Loudon, to discover from these gentlemen what would be the probable consequence if the Frasers marched and went into the rebellion, when he brought back the message that the result would in all probability be the seizing of his Lordship's person and an inquiry into his conduct.

Let us now see what the personal attitude of the Master was as sworn to by Hugh Fraser. It was, he said, arranged between them before he proceeded with the letters and messages to the Lord President and Lord Loudon that the Master should meet him privately on his way back, in order to tell him "what passed between my Lord President and me, and my Lord Loudon and me," and they met accordingly, when Hugh Fraser reported to the Master the whole of the conversation which he had with these two gentlemen, in consequence of which it was agreed between them that the Master, if possible, should at once proceed to Holland, and that the scheme previously proposed by Hugh and William Fraser of Balnain should be carried out, and the Master's education continued at Leyden or some other University on the Continent. The two agreed that the result of this meeting and conversation should be reported to Lord Lovat, and this was duly done by Hugh Fraser. His Lordship expressed his opinion that his son "should

proceed in the undertaking he was engaged in," and "that the men should march immediately." This was said in presence of several other gentlemen. During the conversation which followed, in course of which Lord Lovat refused to delay the marching out of the men, the Master "burst into tears and said he had been made a fool of and a tool from first to last; that he had been one day doing and another day undoing, but that now he was determined that whatever resolution Lord Lovat should come to that he would execute it, let the consequence be what it would with respect to himself and other people." Lord Lovat replied that he had given his opinion already and would adhere to it.

The Solicitor-General—You have seen my Lord Lovat and his son pretty often together, and were at his house two or three months together; pray what was your opinion as to the backwardness of the Master of Lovat? Do you think that the Master was guilty of obstinacy and disobedience to his father in going into the rebellion? or that, by so doing, he complied with his father's orders and inclinations?

Hugh Fraser—If I am to form my opinion with respect to the Master of Lovat upon his own good sense and understanding, or his avowed principles, I should apprehend that he would not have gone into the rebellion had he been left to himself. And if I am to form my opinion upon the private conversations I had with him, and particularly one which I remember I had in Urquhart, I say if I am to form my opinion upon what he declared with respect to his intentions and sentiments to me, it is my belief that he would not have had any concern in this rebellion, had he been entirely left to himself.

Peter Fraser, tutor of Belladrum, was then sworn, but it is not necessary to give more than two or three of the questions and answers in his case—

Mr Lyttleton—Do you imagine and believe that the Master of Lovat could have carried the Frasers into the rebellion if his father had been against it?

Peter Fraser—No; he could not. I am sure he could not.

Mr Lyttleton—Had the Master any manner of foundation to think he could raise the men himself? Or did he, at his own charge and cost, pay those men when they went into the rebellion? Or had he money to do it?

Peter Fraser—I suppose he had no money of his own.

Mr Lyttleton—Do you remember any part of the conversation (on

a certain occasion) between Barrisdale, Macleod, and my Lord Lovat concerning my Lord's declaring openly for the Pretender?

Peter Fraser—I remember one day that Alexander Macleod (of Muiravonside) said that all would be well if my Lord would pull off the mask ; upon which my Lord Lovat, by way of reply, pulled off his his hat and said, "There it is then."

On the day on which the Battle of Culloden was fought Lord Simon was still—as he had been for several months previously—living at Gortuleg House.* What occurred on that eventful day and the part taken in the battle by the Frasers will be more appropriately dealt with in an account of the life and services of the Master of Lovat, who at least nominally commanded them, and who subsequently became so distinguished as a general officer in the military service of his country. On the evening of that fatal morning, Prince Charles, after escaping from the field, made his way to Gortuleg House, where he found Lord Lovat awaiting him, looking for a very different result and was correspondingly disappointed. Mrs Grant of Laggan gives the following interesting account of the meeting of the two heroes, the Prince and his Lordship, and of the preparations which had been made for a meeting under the very different circumstances which had been so fondly anticipated by Lovat and his friends. She says—

"For two or three days before, preparations were making for the reception of the Prince and his train, to regale whom a very ample cold collation was preparing. All the women in the vicinity were called in to bake cakes, and roast meat poultry, and venison for the occasion. Such was the urgency of the time and the quantity of food dressed, that every room in the house, even that which Lord Lovat occupied, was used for culinary purposes, and filled with bread and joints of roasted meat. On the fatal day of Culloden, the Highlanders

* In a note prefixed to the last piece in Captain Fraser of Knockie's *Highland Music*, p. 94, the Editor of that work says that "Lord Lovat spent the last six months previous to his being apprehended chiefly in the house of Thomas Fraser, Esq. of Gorthleck, the Editor's maternal grandfather, where he had his only interview with Prince Charles, after his defeat, and not at Castledunry as mentioned in the Culloden Papers. His residence there, or elsewhere, rendered the place for the time the focus of the Rebellion and brought a concourse of visitors of all descriptions friendly to the cause, but chiefly men of the best talents and address, not likely to commit themselves."

at first gained some partial advantage, and some one came up to say that the fortune of the day was in favour of the Prince ; the house soon filled with people breathless with anxiety for tidings of their friends who were engaged. The little girl (at the time in the house) was considered as an encumbrance, and ordered into a closet, where she continued a little while an unwilling prisoner. Below the house was a large marshy plain, in the centre of which was a small lake that in winter overflowed it, but was now nearly dry. This spot the superstitious believed to be a rendezvous of the fairies ; all of a sudden the tumultuous noise that filled the house was succeeded by a deep silence ; the little prisoner, alarmed at this sudden stillness, ventured out, and saw not one creature in the house but Lord Lovat sitting in deep thought ; then she ventured to the door, and looking down saw above a thousand people in one ghastly crowd in the plain below. Struck with the sudden shifting of the scene and the appearance of this multitude, she thought it was a visionary show of fairies which would immediately disappear. She was soon however undeceived by the mournful cries of women who were tearing off their handkerchiefs for bandages to the wounded. In an instant quantities of linen were carried down for the same purpose, and the intended feast was distributed in morsels among the fugitives, who were instantly forced to disperse for safety to the caves and mountains of that rugged district. The Prince and a few of his followers came to the house ; Lovat expressed attachment to him, but at the same time reproached him with great asperity for declaring his intention to abandon the enterprise entirely. 'Remember,' said he fiercely, 'your great ancestor, Robert Bruce, who lost eleven battles and won Scotland by the twelfth.'"

His Lordship, no doubt, received the Royal fugitive as his Prince, excused himself from not being able to join him in the field, and embraced him tenderly as they parted from each other. Early next morning Charles proceeded westward and reached Invergarry Castle, where he remained for a portion of that night. Lord Lovat is said to have travelled eastward and found shelter for a few days in an attic in Cawdor Castle. This has not been proved, and it is highly improbable that he should have gone in that direction, where he would have been surrounded by the enemy—would indeed have to pass through them to reach Cawdor Castle. There is no doubt that a few days after Culloden he reached the Island of Muily in Glenstrathfarrar, where some time before, as we know from his recent letter to the Master

of Lovat at Perth, special preparations had been made for his reception in the event of its becoming necessary for him to retire thither. On his way during the night from the top of a hill, he saw his favourite Castle Dounie in flames, fire having been set to it by a body numbering 900 of Cumberland's troops under Brigadier Mordaunt, who had been told off to the Aird and Strathglass districts to burn and plunder the Castle, Guisachan House, and everything on which they could there lay their hands. His Lordship does not appear to have remained at Muily for many days, for early in May he is found on the Island of Morar.

The battle of Culloden was fought on the 16th of April, 1746. In May following a meeting took place near Lovat's place of concealment at Morar, of some of the leading Jacobite leaders, including Lochiel, Archibald Macdonald of Barrisdale, John Murray of Broughton, John Roy Stewart, Gordon of Glenbucket, Dr Archibald Cameron, and several others, where it was proposed by his Lordship to enter into an Association and to raise 3000 men in order the more easily to procure favourable terms from Cumberland, or hold out in the hills and mountains of their native country to the last. The articles of Association were duly drawn up and all present signed them, except Lord Lovat, who requested Lochiel to do so for his Lordship's son, the Master of Lovat, whose life he was apparently quite willing to sacrifice, provided he could only save his own. About £35,000 of money which had come from France, was distributed at this meeting, and Lovat's servant received "seventy or eighty pounds" of it in his Lordship's presence. The gentlemen who had signed agreed to meet again ten days later, but that meeting never took place. Each had to look out for his own personal safety where and as best he could, and most of those then assembled never had another opportunity of seeing each other's faces. As regards the object of this meeting Lieutenant Dalrymple of the *Furnace* sloop of war, in his evidence at the trial, said that on the 8th of June, 1746, the next day after Lovat's capture, he heard him say that "if his advice had been taken the rebel army

might have laughed at the King's troops and tired them out all summer. His Lordship said it was not their business to fight the King's troops ; but that, as summer was coming on, they might have taken themselves to the mountains, and could have lived on butter, cheese, and milk, for that the Duke of Cumberland's horse could be of no service to him in the country," and the old chief seemed much aggrieved that his advice was not acted upon.

After a few days on the island of Loch Muily, in Glenstrathfarrar, he left for the West Coast and found his way accompanied by twenty armed men as a body guard, to the island on Loch Morar. Here he arrived early in May and was captured on the 7th of June by a party from the *Furnace*, commanded by the notorious Captain Fergusson. His wanderings after the battle of Culloden and his final capture are graphically described as follows—With a frame exhausted by age and disease, unable to move his limbs, the hardships he encountered, hiding in bogs and hollow trees, and caverns, with the whole fabric of his ambition lying in the dust at his feet, and no brilliant hopes as in the days of his early hardships beckoning him through endurance to greatness—the miseries of the old man's wanderings may be such as the pen need not attempt to describe. He was finally apprehended in the district of Morar, on the western coast, by a party from the *Furnace* sloop, which had been sent to search the isles and the coast. From his retreat in Loch Muily, he must have travelled upwards of seventy miles over the wildest country in Scotland to reach this spot, and for all this exertion he must have been indebted to the faithful labours of his clansmen, for he could not walk a step unsupported. In the Lake of Morar he had hidden himself in an island which, as he had the command of the only boat on the lake, he considered impregnable. As, however, the western extremity of the lake was very close to the sea, a boat was towed by the man-of-war's men over the peninsula and launched on the lake. The contemporary narratives state that he was discovered within a hollow tree, in which he was able to stand upright after

having entered by an orifice below, through which the sailors were astonished to see what appeared to be two human legs muffled in flannel like those of a gouty alderman. He was conveyed in a litter to Fort-William, and there, on the 12th of June, he wrote a letter to the Duke of Cumberland, saying—"I can do more to the King and Government than by destroying a hundred such old and very infirm and old men like me, past seventy, without the least use of my hands, legs, and knees, can advantage in any shape to the Government." Nor did he fail in efforts to touch other feelings. He spoke of his favourable reception at the Court of George I., made in the same strain, with several other letters already quoted. "And I often," he continues, "carried your Royal Highness in my arms in the parks of Kensington and Hampton Court, to hold you up to your Royal grandfather that he might embrace you, for he was very fond of you and the princesses." But this was addressed to a heart harder than the nether millstone. It procured him nothing but a visit from Sir Everard Fawkener, the Duke's secretary, who saw him at Fort-Augustus, and candidly admitted that he had no hopes of mercy to hold out.*

Three weeks later the Duke of Cumberland, from his headquarters at Fort-Augustus, issued a Commission in favour of Lord Lovat's old friend, Major James Fraser of Castle Leathers, dated the 4th of July, 1746, over the Aird estates of Lord Lovat, in the following terms:—

"Whereas Simon Lord Fraser of Lovat, has been guilty of various treasonable practices and acts of rebellion against his Majesty and his Government, and is for the same detained in custody in order to abide the trial of his Peers; and as he is possessed of several lands in culture, many of which have now quantities of grain and corns growing on them, and likewise of the rights of salmon fishing in various quarters: To the end therefore, that the corn and grain growing upon the lands be preserved for the use and support of his Majesty's forces in these parts, till his Peers shall have given sentence upon those matters he stands charged with; it is fitting and convenient that a proper person should be appointed to take care of the

* *Burton's Lives*, pp. 248-250.

same. A very good report having been made of the sufficiency and ability of you, James Fraser of Castle Leathers, you are hereby authorised and empowered to take into your charge the several lands belonging or lately belonging to Lord Lovat hereafter named ; that is to say, the lands of Castle Dounie, Wester Dounie, Culburnie, Fanellan, Tomich, Lovat, Moniack, Bruiach, and the fishings of the water ; and you shall carefully preserve the grass growing thereon for the use of the troops in the winter, and the corn of the several sorts you shall cause to be gathered for the use of the troops likewise, keeping an account thereof ; nor shall you suffer any cattle to graze on the ground but such as there may be orders from the Commanding Officer of his Majesty's forces at Inverness. And such fish as may be taken in the waters you shall send to be divided among the King's troops at Inverness ; except such quantities as it may be necessary to sell to raise money for defraying the expenses of fishing. And you are hereby likewise empowered to appoint such other persons as you may think fit in the performance of this service. And for your so doing this shall be to all intents and purposes your full and sufficient warrant and authority.*

His Lordship was carried to London in a litter, by Stirling, Edinburgh, and Berwick, and several curious stories are told of incidents in the course of his journey south, even under such unfavourable conditions, but most of them are not suitable for or worth reproduction here.

Hogarth met him at the White Hart Inn, St. Albans, but it was not the first time they had enjoyed each other's company, and although being shaved at the moment, Lovat is said to have "received his old friend with a salute which left much of the lather on his face." It was on this occasion that the artist drew the striking portrait of him so well known to every one. As his Lordship, on his arrival in London, approached the Tower, he saw the scaffold which had been erected for the execution of Lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino. This naturally caused him to reflect on his own career and probable early fate, and the eloquent moralisings in which he indulged are said to have made a deep impression on those who accompanied and heard him.

Articles of impeachment were moved and carried unanimously against him in the House of Commons on the 11th of December, 1746. On the 17th they were brought up to

* *Culloden Papers*, p. 288.

the House of Lords by the managers appointed by the Commons to prosecute him. The examination of the witnesses began on the 9th of March, 1747, and occupied five days, with an interval of one. Here we shall again quote Dr Hill Burton, who makes an excellent summary of the leading features of the trial and of his Lordship's behaviour during the whole proceedings—"Lovat's conduct throughout was that of a dignified old man persecuted by fate, and borne to the ground by the oppressive strength of his enemies. Sometimes he was pathetic, occasionally impressively indignant, but never quarrelous or captious. He showed no disposition to catch hold of mere points of form; but was always ready to waive his right to their strict fulfilment, and to let the real business proceed uninterrupted. In general he was grave and decorous, and but one pleasantry escaped him; when he was asked if he had any questions to put to Sir Everard Fawkener (who had been recently married) when examined as a witness, he said 'No, only I am Sir Everard's humble servant, and wish him joy of his young lady.' He made several appeals calculated to move commiseration for his grey hairs. 'My Lords,' he said at the commencement, 'I have not had the use of my limbs this three years; I cannot see; I cannot hear; and I beg, if your Lordships have a mind I should have any chance of my life, that you will allow either my counsel or solicitors to examine my witnesses, and to cross-examine those produced on behalf of the Crown, and to take notes.' If he had been tried, on the charges brought against him, in Scotland forty-six years earlier, he would have been allowed this privilege; but the rules of English law confined the assistance of counsel in cases of treason to purely legal questions. At the conclusion of the second day he complained of the hardships of the early daily attendance to one of his infirm constitution and said, 'I must therefore beg that your Lordships will indulge me with a later hour and some respite, otherwise I shall die at your bar,' but the request seems to have been unheeded. Another appeal of the same description, in which he said,

‘I fainted away thrice this morning before I came up to your Lordship’s bar, but was yet determined to show my respect to your Lordships or die upon the spot,’ produced a respite of a day.” Dr Burton then adds that, although there could be no doubt as to Lovat’s guilt, the evidence was, in a great measure, such as would not, at least at the present day, be tolerated in any court of justice in this country; and even Horace Walpole declared that “it hurt every body at old Lovat’s trial, all guilty as he was, to see an old wretch worried by the first lawyers in England, without any assistance but his own unpracticed defence.” He, however, made a most able statement, which was read by the clerk of the House of Lords on his behalf, in the course of which he denounced his brother conspirator, John Murray of Broughton—who had given evidence against him—in the most scathing and burning sentences. His Lordship said of this contemptible traitor to both parties—

“Murray, the most abandoned of mankind, who, forgetting his allegiance to his King and country, has, according to his own confession, endeavoured to destroy both, to patch up a broken fortune upon the ruin and distress of his native country; to-day stealing into France to enter into engagements upon, your Lordships may believe, the most sacred oaths of fidelity; soon after, like a sanguinary monster, putting his hand and seal to a bloody proclamation, full of rewards for apprehending the sacred person of his Majesty; and, lest the cup of his iniquity had not been filled, to sum up all in one, he imprudently appears at your Lordship’s bar to betray those very secrets which he confessed he had drawn from the person of his Lord, Prince, and Master, under the greatest confidence.”

Lovat was found guilty by the unanimous voice of his Peers on the 18th of March, and on the following day sentence of death was passed upon him in the brutal and repulsive form peculiar to England in cases of treason, in the following terms:—

“That you, Simon Lord Lovat, return to the prison of the Tower; from thence you must be drawn to the place of execution; when you come there, you must be hanged by the neck, but not till you are dead, for you must be cut down alive; then your bowels must be taken out, and burnt before your face; then your head must be

severed from your body, and your body divided into four quarters, and these must be at the King's disposal."

His estates and honours were, of course, forfeited to the Crown, and among the supplies voted by Parliament in 1761 was a sum of £38,558 12s 1³/₄d to discharge the debts claimed and sustained by creditors against his Lordship's forfeited estates of Lovat.

When asked, after sentence was passed upon him, if he had anything to say, and having pleaded to both Houses of Parliament to intercede on his behalf for mercy to the Crown, he facetiously replied that he had nothing to say, "but to thank your Lordships for your goodness to me. God bless you all, and I bid you an everlasting farewell. We shall not meet all in the same place again. I am sure of that"; whereupon he was removed from the bar and taken back to the Tower of London to await the execution of the sentence just passed upon him, not however in the brutal form set forth in it; for Peers had the special privilege of being beheaded instead of the terrible doom pronounced and carried out on ordinary and less exalted traitors.

He has been charged with having been unkind to his first wife Margaret, daughter of Ludovick Grant of Grant, but that has not been proved. There is, however, no doubt that he occasionally used very strong language even to her. About 1726 Lord Lovat, while he, Major Fraser, and Lady Lovat were in London, prevailed upon the Major to give up his wadset of Castle Leathers and to agree to take from his Lordship the farm of Tomich, near Beaully. After her Ladyship and the Major returned home Fraser had an interview with her about entering into possession, when on promising to keep it absolutely secret she showed him a letter from her lord, in which he told her "as she wished her own peace and would be answerable to him" not to admit the Major into the Fraser country at all. Fraser was naturally confounded, and he wrote Lord Lovat a letter written in presence of her Ladyship, complaining of his having found her "constipate" to give him possession of the farm, and urging upon his Lordship to implement his

promise. The Major had a reply in course of post, expressing great surprise at his complaint, "considering," he says, "that I am sure you have a hundred letters under my hand wherein I promised to divide my estate with you. And as to your possession, I hope you know me better than to believe I am to give you a total overthrow. It's by far from that. I have written to my wife to give you peaceable possession; and to manage all my people and country in my absence, to keep off the Mackenzies, for you know I have not gained my whole estate, till I gain my appeal against the creditors of the estate; so you must appear now as a bold lion in my interest; and if you fight for me, by the living God you'll fight for Jannet Dunbar [the Major's wife] and her bairns, which you have already sufficiently under my hand." By the same post Lord Simon wrote a letter to his wife, Lady Lovat, in which he says that he was obliged to promise possession of Tomich to his friend the Major, since he knew his "fidelity in standing by him, and," he goes on to say that "there is an absolute necessity upon me to have him in that country and keep off my enemies, till once I get myself fixed. So that if there be any place in the country you can fix him in for two or three years, see to prevail with him. But as for the possession of Tomich, set ye your foot a spar; or otherwise if you do, by the living God, you'll never have one night's peaceable possession, while you are my wife." The reader will judge how much real kindness, not to say genuine affection, he could have had for a wife to whom in the circumstances he would have written in such imperious and threatening language. She, however, succeeded in placing the Major in possession of the farm of Bruiach, in Lovat's absence, but his Lordship took the very earliest opportunity, and in a manner as discreditable as it was ungrateful, to evict him. It appears from this correspondence and otherwise that Lady Lovat strongly disapproved of her husband's conduct in this as in many other matters, but she seems to have been able and willing to humour him, a fact which he fully acknowledges in the letter, apparently full of passionate grief, in which

he intimates her death, on the birth of his second son, Alexander, to her brother, James Grant of Grant, dated Edinburgh, the 11th of July, 1729. In it he says—

“While my soul was filled with gladness at the safe delivery of my dear wife, and at the birth of a son, which the Lady Scatwell and Dr Culbert wrote to me, and that she was out of danger, I was the very next day struck senseless as with thunder with the surprising news of her death, and my just sorrow still overwhelms my soul and spirit. And great is my reason. The universe could not produce a better wife for my circumstances and temper, the most affectionate and careful wife that ever was born, whose chief care and greatest happiness was to please me in everything; and if I was well she thought herself more happy than any sovereign on earth, so that my loss is inconceivable to any but to myself that feels it every hour and every minute, and will while I live. If I lost a most affectionate and good wife, I am sure you lost the most affectionate sister that ever was born. No woman on earth loved her family and her relations and, in short, all that was concerned in a Grant, better than my dearest soul did.” In a postscript he adds—“What wounds my soul every minute I think of it is that my dear soul was murdered by mis-management, after her sister and the doctor took leave of her and went away, believing her out of all danger; and twelve hours after she was speechless. Cursed for ever be the hands that were about her.”*

In 1731, his Lordship made advances with the view of marriage to Marion, daughter of Sir Robert Dalrymple, but after a courtship of some six months that lady point blank refused to marry him. In a letter dated, North Berwick, the 22nd of March, 1732, she says—

“Your Lordship having been pleased to consider me as a person worthy the honour of being your wife when I was little known to your Lordship and you to me, I was very willing to embrace all proper opportunities of being familiarly acquainted; and now, my Lord, after most serious and deliberate consideration for several months I am fully satisfied that it will not be for the happiness or comfort of either of us to match together. Therefore, on the whole, I hope it will not be surprising nor altogether disagreeable to your Lordship that I tell you plainly and once for all that I am sincerely and unalterably resolved to have no more conversation with your Lordship on the subject of matrimony. Nevertheless, I thank your Lordship for the honour designed me.”

His feelings were very much hurt by the lady's refusal, and

* *Chiefs of Grant*, vol. ii., p. 298.

he wrote to her father, to Sir Hew Dalrymple, Lord President of the Court of Session, to his own agent, Mr John Macfarlane, W.S., Edinburgh, and to Ludovick Colquhoun of Luss, but without avail. The lady was determined, although all her friends were in favour of the match, her objection, she said, proceeding from her natural disposition, "and the observations she had occasion to make on your Lordship's conduct and behaviour during the last winter." In his letter to Ludovick Colquhoun, after discussing the whole situation, he says—"to have a marriage fully concluded, a contract written, and every article agreed to, a day appointed for the marriage, to put it back in this manner is an indignity put upon my person and family that I can hardly bear," but he had to.*

His Lordship, however, very soon turned his attentions in another direction. Marriage was with him now entirely a matter of policy. This is fully established by his own letters to his friends at the time. His advances on this occasion were made to Primrose, daughter of the Hon. John Campbell of Mamore, and sister of John fourth Duke of Argyll, who, before marriage is said to have entertained the most decided abhorrence towards him and to have repeatedly rejected his offers to her. But by a cruel stratagem he, according to John Anderson and Robert Chambers, succeeded in getting her into his power. Their story is, that while visiting a relative in the country she received an urgent letter purporting to be from her mother, beseeching her immediate presence at a particular house in Edinburgh, in which she lay at the point of death. Miss Campbell started at once for this place, and on her arrival was received and treated by the servants with every mark of respect and consideration, but instead of being shown into her mother's chamber as she expected, she was brought face to face with the special object of her aversion, Lord Lovat, under conditions which compelled her to listen to his vows of endearment. She, however, continued obdurate until her heartless suitor told her that she was in a house

* *Chiefs of Grant*, pp. 300-303.

of ill fame; and it is said that the disclosure which he threatened in this connection, and a confinement of several days within the walls of such a place, ultimately overcame her resolution. She was only twenty-three years of age, while he was sixty-six, and the marriage having taken place, she was taken North "to take her place in the semi-barbarous state which her husband held at Castle Dounie."

Lieutenant-Colonel Fergusson, editor of *Major Fraser's Manuscript*, doubts the truth of the house-of-ill-fame story—a doubt in which we are disposed to agree with him—and suggests that it is a revival of an incident connected with the marriage of Field-Marshal the Earl of Stair with the widow of Lord Primrose, and whence, perhaps, the mistake. The story forms the subject of *My Aunt Margaret's Mirror*. Dr Hill Burton is also sceptical as to the accuracy of this traditional account of his Lordship's wooing. "The reader will judge," he says, "how far it may militate against this story that the marriage contract was very formally executed by the parties and their relations, the subscriptions being attached at different dates from the 3rd of April, when the bride and bridegroom signed, to the 9th of July (1733). The band of connexions who appear on the occasion is very formidable; but however this may indicate their cordiality to the match, it is of course no evidence that the bride herself went willingly to the sacrifice. There were the bride's mother and her brother; her uncle, Lord Elphinstone; her aunt, the Countess of Mar; the Duke of Argyll; and the Earl of Islay"; while Duncan Forbes of Culloden was one of the witnesses. The document provided the bride with a yearly jointure of three thousand merks Scots. Discussing the question of ill treatment after marriage, the same writer says—"To be mistress of Castle Dounie was probably no enviable dignity to a woman brought up with even moderate notions of female delicacy; but it may be questioned if one connected as Primrose Campbell was, was likely to be exposed to palpable injury and insult by so sagacious a politician as her husband." But the charge against his Lordship of behaving harshly to her during their

married life, and of her being ultimately obliged to separate from him on that account, is established beyond question, whatever view may be taken of the other and more cruel offence imputed to him.

Mr Robert Chambers, who enters into considerable detail on the subject of his Lordship's treatment of her and as regards her personal character, says—

"Nothing but misery could have been expected from such an alliance. The poor young lady, while treated with external decorum, was in private subjected to such usage as might have tried the spirit of a Griselda. She was occasionally kept confined in a room by herself, from which she was not allowed to come forth even at meals, only a scanty supply of coarse food being sent to her from his Lordship's table. When pregnant, her husband coolly told her that, if she brought forth a girl, he would put it in the back of the fire. His eldest son by the former marriage was a sickly child. Lovat, therefore, deemed it necessary to raise a strong motive in the step-mother for the child being taken due care of during his absence in the Lowlands. On going from home he would calmly inform her that any harm befalling the boys in his absence would be attended with the penalty of her own death, for, in that event, he would undoubtedly shoot her through the head. It is added that she did, from this, in addition to other motives, take an unusual degree of care of her stepson, who ever after felt towards her the tenderest love and gratitude. One is disposed to believe that there must be some exaggeration in these stories; and yet, when we consider that it is a historical fact that Lovat applied to Prince Charles for a warrant to take President Forbes *dead or alive* (Forbes being his friend and daily intimate), it seems no extravagance that he should have acted in this manner to his wife."^{*}

Sir Walter Scott tells another story which helps to complete the picture drawn by Chambers. He says that

"A lady, the intimate friend of her youth, was instructed to visit Lady Lovat as if by accident, to ascertain the truth of these rumours concerning her husband's conduct, which had reached the ears of her family. She was received by Lord Lovat with an extravagant affectation of welcome, and with many assurances of the happiness his Lady would receive from seeing her. The chief then went to the lonely tower in which Lady Lovat was secluded, without decent clothes, and even without sufficient nourishment. He laid a dress before her becoming her rank, commanded her to put it on, to appear, and to

^{*} *Traditions of Edinburgh*, new edition, p. 256.

receive her friend as if she were the mistress of the house ; in which she was, in fact, a naked and half-starved prisoner. And such was the strict watch which he maintained, and the terror which his character inspired, that the visitor durst not ask, nor Lady Lovat communicate, anything respecting her real situation.”*

But subsequently, by a letter rolled up in a clew of yarn and dropped over a window to a confidential friend, she was able to let her relatives know how matters really stood ; and in 1740 steps were finally concluded for her separation from her husband. When, some years later, his Lordship was in the Tower of London awaiting his execution—forgetting all past injuries and thinking only of her duty as a wife—she offered to go to London to attend him. He returned an answer, declining her offer, and “containing the only expressions of kindness and regard which she had ever received from him since her marriage.” Chambers says that she “was of small stature, had been thought a beauty, and retained, in advanced old age, much of her youthful delicacy of features and complexion. Her countenance bore a remarkably sweet and pleasing expression. When at home, her dress was a red silk gown, with ruffled cuffs, and sleeves puckered like a man’s shirt ; a fly-cap encircling the head, with a mob-cap laid across it, falling down over the cheeks, and tied under the chin ; her hair dressed and powdered ; a double muslin handkerchief round the neck and bosom ; lammer-beads ; a white lawn apron, edged with lace ; black stockings, with red gushets ; high-heeled shoes. She usually went abroad in a chair. As she emerged from the head of Blackfriars Wynd, any one who saw her sitting in it, so neat, and fresh, and clean, would have taken her for a queen in wax-work, pasted up in a glass case.”

She was married for nearly three years before she had any issue, but on the 10th of August, 1736, Lord Lovat writes from Beaufort to Sir James Grant of Grant a letter in which he says, speaking of his wife—“She was safely brought to bed, I bless God, on Thursday last, at 4 o’clock

* *Quarterly Review*, vol. xiv, p. 326.

in the afternoon of a very sturdy boy, who was on Saturday baptized Archibald, after the Earl of Islay, and in memory of my great and worthy friend the late Duke of Argyll, the man in the world that I loved most, and the man on earth that had the greatest friendship for me and did me the most good." There is ample and conclusive evidence that their marital relations had been everything but felicitous from the beginning, though the fact was, as much as possible, kept from the knowledge of their friends. But on the 20th of April, 1738, Lovat writes to Ludovick Grant, Younger of Grant, a letter in which he informs that gentleman, apparently for the first time, of his differences with her Ladyship, his second wife. Excusing himself for not having been to see or having written to his friend for some time, he says—"But my Lady Lovat, whose head was never right, turned entirely wrong since I saw you. Her behaviour looked rather like a mad woman, full of folly and malice, than like a woman of common sense and religion." She declared to several persons that the moment he left home she would start for Edinburgh with her child, and when told that she would not be allowed to take young Archibald along with her she expressed her determination to go without him, and that she would get money, horses, and servants, though his Lordship should give her none. Three gentlemen, who happened to be at Beaufort at the time, the Rev. Thomas Chisholm, minister of Kilmorack, the Rev. Donald Fraser, "preacher of the Gospel," and Evan Baillie of Abriachan, tried to dissuade her from going South, and asked what her motives were for coming to "such an unreasonable resolution." She said that she wanted to see her mother. "But," his Lordship continues, "the true motive was that she wanted a sum of money from me before I went South. I then told her that I would order as much money for her from time to time as she would call for from my Chamberlain, providing that she would give an account that she made use of it for the good and service of the family. She refused that absolutely, but told me that I must give her a sum of money that she was to make no account of but to

buy her clothes, drugs, and any other little necessaries that she thought fit; and that she must have an obligation on stamped paper that I would continue her the sum of £50 per year during her married life, to be disposed of by her for the said purposes, without being obliged to give any account of it. I told the gentlemen that that was a pretty hard case, that she should bully me to give such a sum for life, or otherwise that I must bear and suffer the bad consequences of her going South and making a noise and racket among her relations, but as I knew her hellish temper, and that she hates me and my family and children, rather than to give any subject of joy to my enemies, or be the table-talk of the country, I desired the three friends above-mentioned to cut and carve upon it, that I would do anything for peace sake and to hinder my name and character to be maliciously tossed up and down. Accordingly, the three gentlemen, after eight days' treaty, concluded this morning the Peace of Utrecht, and by their strong reasonings and address, brought the sum down to £30 sterling, which I am to pay quarterly." He paid the first instalment that day and obliged himself by a letter under his hand that the allowance should be paid regularly, whether he was at home or not, and she obliged herself on stamped paper not to trouble him for more than the sum agreed upon. He is thus "luckily out of the terrible scrape that threatened bad consequences that would be as disagreeable" to his friends as it would be to himself and his family. And then he exclaims to his correspondent, "O thousand times happy the Laird of Grant that has an angel for a wife, while the poor unfortunate Lord Lovat has for his wife a mixture of a devil and a daw."* Seven months afterwards, on the 20th of November, writing to the same friend, he complains of his not coming to see him and giving him his advice and assistance in his "domestic misery and misfortune," for he is persuaded "that since the first woman was created till now, there was never on earth a more wicked woman than my Lady Lovat. She certainly possesses all the vices that

* *Chiefs of Grant*, vol. ii., pp. 366-367.

human nature is capable of. She is a . . . , an habitual liar and backbiter, a complete hypocrite, making religion a cloak to all her villainy : and it is certain that she is more artful than any rogue that ever was in England or Scotland"; and after a few more compliments of the same kind he adds—"I cannot but think that I am in some danger by her continual working in drugs and making her room an apothecary's shop." He paid her pension regularly, and was, according to his own account, always kind and civil to her, and made her several presents "which has so pleased her that she seems in appearance a good and affectionate wife, though in her practice a very wild incarnate devil." He goes on with a string of other charges. The Rev. Thomas Chisholm's house, he knows, "is filled with things she stole and gave him." He is advised by William Fraser, his "trustee and doer at Edinburgh, that she and her mother, and some others that her mother had persuaded to do it, had written to their great relations in London that I had bribed and was bribing witnesses to prove her a This is most horrid, and puts me to the four corners of my saddle to consider what to do ; for her friends, having got a lying and most villainous account from her and her mother, who is capable of all sorts of wickedness, they may believe that I am guilty, since I never did write one syllable of her to any of them, but now I think I am obliged in self-defence to write." He "would be very easy at the loss that is past" if he could only be safe in time to come, "and yet it is certain," he says, "that she stole and robbed me above a thousand guineas' worth this five years past, for she was not eight days married when she began to steal from me and pick my pockets, though prudence made me bear with it. I intercepted within these few days things that she was sending to her mother with some guineas. I let the gold go forward, but I kept a part of the things that she stole out of my trunks," this heinous theft consisting, according to himself, of "a silk tabby," which he "bought fourteen years ago to make a gown to Miss Jenzie when she was an infant"; and though this is

is the only instance of thieving which he mentions, he concludes his charges against his wife on this occasion by the statement that it was impossible for him to tell "the impudent practice of that woman in theft and in all other vices."* But worse is to follow.

Six months later, on the 22nd of May, 1739, he writes a long letter to the same Ludovick Grant, in the course of which he returns to his former charges against his wife, and says that though he had "behaved like an angel to the admiration of every one" who saw him, to her, "yet now her head is so turned that she is perfectly mad, the villainous, treacherous, and cunning minister, Chisholm, that she has an intrigue with, having persuaded her that she is so hated and abhorred in all this country that she can never live happily in it. He has convinced her to take the resolution of going South, and never to return to this country, and that she might engage her relations to get an aliment from me, that she and her gallant might live luxuriously as long as it lasted." She was fully determined to go away whether he would allow it or not, "because she hates us all alike, and that all the country is full of devils." His friends advised him to acquaint her people of the situation, and he has resolved to do so, without loss of time. "If," he says, "I can but manage her friends so as not to lose them, I shall be mighty glad to get rid of her, even at the expense of giving her her whole jointure that the contract of marriage gives her after my death; for it is a hard case to be obliged to live every day with an unmannerly, brutal devil, that openly professes her hatred to my person, and family, and kindred, though I brought her from her misery, and as her brother wrote to her, enclosed in my letter, that she should be a very affectionate, obedient wife, because she had not bread to her mouth, nor clothes nor linen to her back, when I married her; and since that time, which is about six years, she has actually robbed me out of my strong boxes (the locks of which she blew up with greater dexterity than ever the English rogue did any), in gold

* *Chiefs of Grant*, vol. ii., pp. 371-372.

specie, gold medals, silver, bank notes, bonds and bills, above £1200 sterling"; and he claims great praise and blesses God for his uncommon patience and good temper towards her during the whole of this period, while, at the same time, he is thus maligning her to the friends of his first wife!

Within a month, on the 15th of June, his Lordship returns to the charges against her. After describing the nature of a serious illness that he was at the time suffering from, he says, this time to Sir James Grant of Grant, "what augments my disease, and I believe has already shortened my days, and will make an end of them sooner than I might expect by my good constitution, is the unparalleled incarnate devil that torments me every day, though I behave with good temper, and with such constant compliance, that it surprises every mortal that sees her and me; but, however, I am resolved never to alter that happy behaviour that God Almighty has blessed me with in my greatest affliction." He then intimates to Sir James his intention of writing to Colonel John Campbell, his wife's brother, with the view of getting him to prevail upon her to keep at home, failing which, he says, "I must let the open rupture go on which I have hindered and resisted these five years past with as good management and industry as my soul was capable of, and my comfort is, that all the North of Scotland knows my innocence and extraordinary good behaviour," which he hopes to defend and vindicate whenever occasion offers.*

On the 3rd of July he writes to Ludovick Grant, informing him that he is still in a bad state of health and that he has become a perfect invalid, after which he says—"My singular and great misfortune occasions all my disposition. It has already shortened my days, and I believe it will bring down my grey hairs with sorrow to the grave. That misfortune is come to its height; for that person is now fitter for Bedlam than for any reasonable place; and though I always have and do behave to her with a goodness and

* *Chiefs of Grant*, vol. ii., p. 391.

complaisance beyond my own imagination and the imagination of all those that see me, yet after telling to your aunt, the Lady Scatwell, and to all my doers, that she would go South whether I would or not, or whether I went or not, she came in last week like a mad woman to the room and told me she would go South over my belly, and (that) I durst not hinder her, and that she would stay South, and would get an aliment whether I would or not, either by friends or by law. I told her I could afford a good aliment if I had the £1200 that I was robbed of since she came to the family, and that she could not but be sensible that though I had plain proofs that she broke open my strong boxes with her own hands, yet till now that I never said a word to her about it. She answered in a passion," that if she did she only took what was her own. She "began to bawl and scold." He told her this was no use, and when she was tired of scolding she returned to her own room, after he said to her that as a husband he had power by law to keep her from doing mischief to herself or to him. This, he believed, "kept her from making an elopement, though she has packed up her clothes eight days ago." This last attack, he says, has convinced all his friends that he must write to her brother, Colonel Campbell; "for if she went away and joined her mother and her other female friends in the South it would be a means to make her brother and her great relations believe what she would say; and you assure yourself that nothing that ever could be invented in hell of calumnies and lies but what she will tell and propagate, so that in my opinion it is absolutely necessary to acquaint her friends before she goes off, and you may depend upon it that off she will go at any rate, for she is fully determined upon a separation."* He did write to her brother, and on receipt of his reply Lovat enclosed an extract from the Colonel's letter to Ludovick Grant in a communication dated the 12th of September, 1739, which begins—"I bless God I am now very near being rid of the incarnate devil that has tormented me these six years

* *Chiefs of Grant*, vol. ii., pp. 392-393.

past, during which time I have been really in hell." Her Ladyship's brother approves of a separation on certain conditions, and suggests an annuity of £100 for her maintenance. The amount finally agreed upon is not stated, but the matter was arranged and actual separation took place on the 3rd of May, 1740. Lord Lovat writing from Beaufort to Sir James Grant of Grant, on that date, says—

"My Lady Lovat is at last gone in good health, I bless God, from this place. I behaved like an angel to her to the minute I parted with her. I fulfilled all the conditions that I promised to the Earl and to her brother. I conveyed her some miles in my chariot with my daughter, and her only child, and when I parted with her, after giving all the money for her aliment and her journey, I gave her ten guineas as a little present for her pocket. I embraced her very affectionately at parting, and told her the civilest things that I was capable of, but she parted with me, and with my daughter, and with her only child, as if she was parting with three Indians! but my comfort is that we shall never meet again till we meet in heaven. She gives out that she is only to go and see her friends in the South, and then to come back again. My friends are persuaded that her behaviour wherever she goes will soon vindicate me."*

After her husband's death some difficulty arose as to the payment of Lady Lovat's jointure, which only amounted to £190 per annum, and in consequence of its non-payment for several years, she lived, being destitute of any means of support of her own, along with one of her sisters. Certain friends offered to lend her money, until matters were arranged, to buy a house for herself and help to maintain her, but seeing no certain prospect of being able to repay it she declined to burden herself with such a debt. The matter was, however, ultimately settled, when she received the whole amount due in one sum, £500 of which she expended in purchasing the house at the head of Blackfriar's Wynd, Edinburgh, in which she lived during the remainder of her long life, and another sum in buying furniture to replenish it.

This is how Chambers writes of the woman who had been so terribly reviled by her husband in the letters

quoted, and so cruelly ill-treated by him at Beaufort—

“It would surprise a modern dowager to know how much good Lady Lovat contrived to do amongst her fellow-creatures with this small allowance. It is said that the succeeding Lady Lovat, with a jointure of £4000, was less distinguished for her benefactions. In Lady Lovat’s dusky mansion, with a waiting-maid, cook, and foot-boy, she not only maintained herself in the style of a gentlewoman, but could welcome every kind of Highland cousin to a plain but hospitable board, and even afford permanent shelter to several unfortunate friends.” And again—“An unostentatious but sincere piety marked the character of Lady Lovat. Perhaps her notions of Providence were carried to the verge of a kind of fatalism; for not merely did she receive all crosses and troubles as trials arranged for her benefit by a High Hand, but when a neighbouring house on one occasion took fire, she sat unmoved in her own mansion, notwithstanding the entreaties of the Magistrates, who ordered a sedan to be brought for her removal. She said if her hour was come it would be vain to try to elude her fate, and if it was not come she would be safe where she was. She had a conscientiousness almost ludicrously nice. If detained from Church on any occasion she always used to double her usual oblation at the ‘plate’ next time. When her chimney took fire she sent her fine to the Town Guard before they knew the circumstance. Even the tax collector experienced her ultra-rectitude. When he came to examine her windows, she took him to a closet lighted by a single pane, looking into a narrow passage between two houses. He hesitated about charging for such a small modicum of light, but her ladyship insisted on his taking note of it.” And further, “such was the generosity of her disposition, that when her grandson, Simon, was studying law, she at various times presented him with £50, and when he was to pass as an Advocate she sent him £100. It was wonderful how she could spare such sums from her small jointure. Whole tribes of grand-nephews and grand-nieces experienced the goodness of her heart and loved her with almost filial affection.”*

Such was the character of the woman whom her husband so heartlessly and baselessly maligned. She was born in 1710, and died in 1796, at the mature old age of 86, having outlived her lord for 49 years.

It is sad that a man like Simon Lord Lovat, who undoubtedly possessed great natural gifts, should in so many instances have misapplied them to unworthy objects for no intelligible purpose apparently than to gratify an ambition

to be the greatest and most powerful man in the Highlands of Scotland. In his almost limitless correspondence with men in every position in life he has scarcely a good word to say for any one, not even for the leading men of his own clan. And his abuse of them is almost invariably behind their backs. He is pleasant enough when he meets them in person or addresses them directly by letter at the same moment that he is calling them to his friends by all the vilest names in the English language. There is scarcely a man of note among the leaders of his own clan that escaped, and curiously enough he applies the same opprobrious epithets to nearly all of them. The reader has already read his extraordinary attack on Alexander Fraser of Fairfield referred to at pp. 373-374. Foyers, Phopachy, and Struy are also in for a fair share of characteristic abuse, but a good deal more is in store for them. Outside his own clan, President Forbes, the best friend he ever had in the world, except perhaps Major James Fraser of Castle Leathers, was villified behind his back while praised and fawned upon to his face, in the most forcible and expressive expletives, and so was Norman Macleod of Macleod, who was his bosom friend so long as he thought he could use him for his own ends.

In a letter, dated Beaufort, 7th of February, 1735, and addressed to Sir James Grant, he calls Brodie of Brodie "a damned impertinent liar," Macleod of Macleod an "unnatural wretch," and the Lord President, "the false villain Duncan Forbes," who, "by his daring lies, lost me the favour and countenance of the Duke of Argyll, which, by the living God, I am now very easy about, since he was so weak and ungrateful as to believe the lies of a little scoundrel upstart against the most faithful and useful partizan that he had these twenty years past in Scotland and England." But after all, the gems of the Simonese vocabulary were retained for his second wife, as already seen, and for his deliverer and great benefactor, Castle Leathers, as shall now be shown out of his Lordship's own mouth. Writing from Beaufort to Sir James Grant of Grant, on the 6th

of May, 1737, Lord Lovat speaks of his old friend in the following strong terms :—

“The known notorious common liar and monster of ingratitude Major Cracks, came to Inverness three nights ago, and he did not deny to a friend of mine and his own but he made complaints of me to the Earl, etc. It is the greatest trial that ever my patience met with, that I do not yield to my just passion in allowing his nose and ears to be cut off. No man ever deserved it so much ; but I will endeavour to keep my temper, at least till I write to the Earl when I know his hurry is over. I will make a faithful memorial of the true history of this ruffian since I knew him ; and if after that the Earl grants him his countenance or any favour, I may then say to all mankind that I am used like a despicable scoundrel, and that a common lying madman is used as if he was Lord Lovat. But let this calumnious villain say what he will, I know the Earl has too much good sense and too much experience of my fidelity to him, that he will not really believe him or anybody else till he first examine myself upon the head.”

On the 13th of May, just a week later, his Lordship writes to Sir James on the same subject. He says—

“The infamous, unnatural, and most ungrateful knight of the post is come home in great pomp by the money that he has got as a false spy and informer, and particularly against his chief and great benefactor. He is really fitter for Bedlam than for the commerce of reasonable men. He blusters out openly and says he has done my business, and swears that a single letter under his hand to the Peer can break me at any time he pleases, and take my commission, etc., from me. When his brother Balloan, and his nephew, Culduthel, heard this proven against him they were almost mad, and cursed the hour he was born, and swore they would drag him to the gallows with their own hands ; and I am very sure if I convened my kindred, and gave them an account of his treachery against me, it would not be in my power to save him from being cut in a 100 pieces.”

He then expresses surprise that the Earl could believe any of the race of Adam who would say an ill thing of him, but especially “that he should give ear to a known liar and an impudent rhodomontade that no street boy in Inverness that knows him would believe a word he said.” In another paragraph of the same letter his Lordship says—“I am just now told that this ruffian is gone in to Inverness to send fresh lies, intelligence, and complaints of me to his agents in London to be communicated to the Peer.” He asks Sir

James to acquaint the Earl of Islay "of this villain's behaviour, and of his gasconading threats against" him, when he was quite sure that nobleman would "look upon that worthless fellow as a fool and a madman, as well as an ungrateful rogue." In a postscript he adds—"I know the Earl of Crawford is a patron of this wretch, the Earl thinking him a brave honest fellow, but when the Earl will know his roguery and ingratitude towards me, who was his greatest benefactor, and that he has neither courage nor honesty, I am very certain the Earl of Crawford will abandon him and never countenance him." He then urges upon his friend, Sir James, to advise the Earl of what he had himself written regarding his old deliverer, for it were a pity, he says, that that nobleman "should not be undeceived of the character of that ruffian," Major Fraser.

On the 27th of May, he writes a long letter direct to the Earl of Islay with most of which the reader is already acquainted. In this communication he falls foul of the Major in the strongest possible terms, calling him an "unnatural wretch," "the greatest coward as well as the greatest liar in the whole country," "an unnatural monster," and "one of the greatest rogues this country has produced." A considerable portion of this extraordinary epistle, including the abuse of Major Fraser, has been already given at page 369, and it is therefore unnecessary to repeat it.

On the 18th of November, 1737, again writing to Sir James Grant, Lord Simon says of the Lord President and his Forbes relatives—

"I got the family of Culloden and all their creatures to be my most malicious and implacable enemies, that would go to the gates of hell to see me hanged, and that only for my appearance for you and my close union with your family, and my obeying the Peer's orders. All this is as true as God is in Heaven: and the first quarrel that I had with the President, several years ago, was for his speaking insolently of the Peer, which I often challenged him for. And now whatever way the President has contrived it, and what informers he has made use of, and whatever way he has taken to convey those lies and calumnies to the great men, I am as fully convinced as I am that God is in Heaven that all the mischief that was done to me above with the great men is certainly the contrivance of the President, and flows all

from him ; and if it was not my situation as a chief at the head of a pretty clan he would have taken off the mask long ere now and appeared openly and as violently against me as ever the Duke of Roxburgh or the late Justice-Clerk."

It will be observed that, according to this letter, up to the date of which he was writing in the most friendly and fulsome fashion to John Forbes of Culloden and his family, that it was his brother, the Lord President, who was conveying "those lies and calumnies" to the great men in London, and that he was as fully convinced as he was that God was in heaven that all the mischief done him in the estimation of the Duke of Argyll, the Earl of Islay, and the other "great men" in London, was his contrivance and not Major Fraser's, whom he had already charged with it in such violent language. The family of Culloden, for whom at the same time he was elsewhere expressing regard and gratitude, were, according to this letter, his "most malicious and implacable enemies that would go to the gates of hell" to see him hanged, and that because of his close union to the family of his correspondent.

Soon after this Lord Lovat appears to have broken openly with the Lord President. On the 1st of May, 1738, he refused to dine with the Lord Justice-Clerk while on circuit in Inverness, because President Forbes was to be one of the company. The latter, however, came in unexpectedly while Lovat was dining in another place with the Governor of the Castle, and the Fraser chief glories in having "behaved very unmannerly" to him on that occasion. He "did not so much as make a bow to him, nor took no more notice of him than of a broomstick," and "though he stayed two hours in the room with me, and but four of us, we did not exchange one word, so the first judge in Scotland saw that the Lord Lovat scorned to make advances to him after his mad, malicious practices to hurt my person, reputation, and interest. All the country and town are now convinced that he was the contriver and promoter of all Castle Leathers' villainous lies ; for that infamous villain, that all honest men now shun to converse with, is one of the great favourites at Culloden and openly caressed by the great Lord of that

house; but it fulfils the proverb, 'Alike draws to like,'" a great compliment, one would be disposed to think, to Major Fraser.

On the 9th of December, 1737, he again writes to Sir James Grant a letter in which he falls foul of Major Fraser, Phopachy, and his brother, the London apothecary, who afterwards at his own special request attended him in the Tower and to the scaffold. He says—

"I am now informed by Balloan and others, the near relations of that ungrateful ruffian, Major Cracks, that he is certainly gone up to London to do me all the mischief he can. They told me that this young Phopachy, and a brother that he has in London, an apothecary, are the greatest fomentors of his going to London to do me hurt at Court, because of the several just processes I have against Phopachy. All Castle Leathers' nearest relations have ordered his son to write to him to return immediately to this country and let him know that if he is so mad and unnatural as to say or do anything to hurt me, his brother, and nephew Culduthel, and his other near relations, will be the first to chastise him with their own hands. I hope the Peer, who has been always my support, will give no manner of countenance to this ruffian, who is a known liar and madman, and whose very nearest relations wish that he had never been born," and so on in the same strain.

Writing from Beaufort under date of January, 1738, to Ludovick Grant of Grant, he returns to the same men and the same subject, and says—

"There are four or five rogues in this country that I have charged before the Lords of Session for having robbed me of the rents of my estate and the furniture of my house, and they, being conscious to themselves that I can prove all my libel against them, the villainous refuge that they have thought of to save themselves was to invent lies and stories of me and to inform the Court that I am a Jacobite and an enemy to the Government. They did choose for the instrument of their malice James Fraser of Castle Leathers, *alias* Major Cracks, and a brother of Phopachy's, who is an apothecary at London, whom I pursue equally with his brother for the plunder of my house, to be the persons that would inform the Ministry of my treasonable practices, that the villains can have no foundation for but their wicked inventions. I was informed of the conspiracy months ago."

After further details, he concludes his reference to the subject on this occasion thus—

"Those very persons that now conspire to hurt me are the men of the name of Fraser that I loaded most with my favours, and received

most of my money in gratuity, my brother not excepted, particularly that villain Castle Leathers, who has got above £1000 of my money without doing a sixpence worth of service ; but I hope kind Providence, that always protected me against the malice of my enemies of the highest rank, will protect me against the silly and mean malice of those ruffians and pitiful little scoundrels who have neither birth, estates, or friends to support them, so that all that they will gain by their treacherous conspiracy is to declare themselves unnatural and ungrateful monsters to the world."

In a letter dated the 31st of March, 1739, addressed to the Rev. Donald Fraser, minister of Killearnan, who had been for a considerable time before he was appointed to that charge, tutor to Simon, Master of Lovat, his Lordship, referring to the Rev. Thomas Chisholm, minister of Kilmorack, whose only fault seems to have been that he sympathised with and took the part of the second Lady Lovat against her husband's ill-treatment, says—

"I think it would be a good action before God and man, to get that dissembling, false, and treacherous hypocrite turned out of the ministry ; for he is truly a scandal to religion and to the kirk that he is an unworthy member of. I entreat you communicate this letter to my dear cousin Pitkyllen, and to his worthy sister, and when they see the horrid injustice that I meet with and the great danger that my family is in by the villainous conduct, contrivance, and actings of that subtle, cunning, false, and vile hypocrite, I am persuaded that they will do all in their power to save me from the malicious and dangerous malice of that wretch.*"

On the 27th of April, 1739, he writes from the same place to Sir James Grant a letter in course of which he says—"There is not a chief in Scotland more beloved or obeyed by his kinsmen than I am, and there is not one of them but makes strong professions of love and friendship to me, except two known knaves and villains, Castle Leathers and Phopachy ; the first a known liar, romancer, knight of the post, and a double spy, whom no man in this country regards more than they would do a madman that runs up and down the fields ; and his brother Balloan, and his nephew Culduthel, to whom I have done singular services, abhor him for his villainous and knavish behaviour towards me,

* *Celtic Magazine*, vol. x., p. 550.

while they themselves are ready to lose their blood and swim the sea, if they could, to serve me; and Phopachy, who is now known to be as great a knave as ever his father was, has no way to save himself from my pursuits for the knavery of his father, but by lies and falsehoods." He goes on to say that he has no difference with any Fraser on earth but "these two noted knaves," and he pleads with Sir James to communicate the contents of his letter to the Earl of Islay, so that he may "give no ear to those rascals nor to their friends against" him.

On the 26th of May, 1739, writing to Sir James again from Beaufort, he protests against charges which appear to have been made against him for doing "hardships to his kindred," although he "actually did them more good than all the Lord Lovats that were, these 200 years; and they are so sensible of it that there never was a Lord Lovat more loved and regarded by them all than I am, except the two monsters, the Major and Phopachy, who are hated by their own relations, especially the Major's family, which is Culduthel's, to whom I have done more service than to any family in Stratherrick or Abertarff, and they are so sensible of it that they would risk their lives, and all that they have in the world, night and day, to serve me; and curse the day that the Major was born, who has vexed me so much and affronted them." Having repeated that this was the position that he occupied with all his clan and kindred, he proceeds—"Evan Baillie and Commissary Munro have been here examining witnesses on the thefts, robberies, and depredations done by the late Phopachy, this Phopachy, and his mother against me, by which they found out the greatest villainies that were ever perpetrated in Scotland. They have got a connected proof by several concurring witnesses of a very honest character in the country, of their stealing the best goods and effects that were in this house and in the kiln of Lovat, to the value of several thousand pounds; for the inventory that was made of those goods by Dumballoch, before Fraserdale's lady went South, was £68,000 Scots, which Thomas Fraser

of Dumballoch delivered to me out of Lovat; for there was the furniture of four families in this house and in the kiln of Lovat—that of the Archbishop of Glasgow, Sir George Mackenzie's, the Lord Prestonhall's, and the late Lord Lovat's, which the family of Phopachy all robbed and plundered; for I never got £30 worth of the whole, and yet that young rogue Phopachy, pursues me for money after his father plundered me of my estate, and he and his mother of my effects, with his father's concurrence and advice. It is well known in the country that his father had not £10 on earth when I came home in the year 1715"—which by the way he never would have done had it not been for Major Fraser and Phopachy, whom he now so cruelly maligns—"nor had (he) any earthly way to make it but by plundering of me. This I earnestly beg you may represent in a true light to the Earl when he is not in a hurry; for I am very certain, as he is a very just and equitable man, if he knew the hundredth part of the villainies that were done by those people against me, he would never hear of them nor see their faces."

Writing from the same place to his "Dear Sir James" under date of the 4th of April, 1740, when he admits being "in disgrace" at headquarters, he says that he absolutely denies some "villainous story" which had been circulated about him, and that—"of fifteen hundred of my kindred that are in my country and upon my estate, I would declare it before God, if it was my last words, that I know not a man of them but what would venture his heart's blood for me, except three or four pitiful gentlemen who visibly robbed me of a great deal of my rents and money, and who are notoriously known in this country for liars and rogues, and who would not get one single man of the name to stand by them or countenance them, if they believed they were acting against me." He then asserts that upon his last "misfortune," his whole clan, gentlemen and commons, showed their zeal for him more than ever they had done on any previous occasion. This was "well known in all the country," the people of which "openly expressed their

regret and concern for my misfortune, and whoever gives any other account of it are but pitiful liars and calumniators, and if I could use the same freedom with the Earl as I used to do, I could easily convince him how much he suffers, as well as I do, by giving ear to pitiful rogues, who are openly known to be common liars and calumniators, and who have nothing in the world to live upon but their false, treacherous shifts in imposing upon great men." Then Sir James, after seriously reading this letter, is asked to disabuse his Lordship "as to those impudent liars who make a villainous use of the countenance that he gives them," which, according to Lord Lovat, does the Earl no service.

The Fraser chief now falls foul of several more of the leading men of his clan, as well as of Castle Leathers, Phopachy, and their more immediate friends. Foyers and Struy are placed in the same category. In a postscript to the letter just quoted, Lord Lovat says—

"You know, my dear Sir James, that Fraser of Foyers is a very silly, weak, ignorant creature, that really cannot be said to have common sense. Besides, he truly owes me twenty-four thousand merks of money that I lent himself, to save his estate from being sold; and his brother that is dead owes me twice as much of borrowed money and debts that I paid for him out of my pocket. So that this miserable wretch owes me, for himself and for his brother, twice as much money as all his lands are worth if they were sold at thirty years' purchase, and I am now doing diligence against his estates. And as to Fraser of Struy, he is known through all the country to be a fool and a madman, in a starving condition, not worth a groat, and the poor six hundred merks that he possesses is only by my tolerance and good will, for he has no more right to it than you have, so that I can demolish him when I please; and I do assure you that neither Foyers nor Struy would get two men of their name to follow them a mile if they were acting in the least against me. This you may depend upon to be a real truth, and I'll prove at any time what I say of these gentlemen, under the peril of losing my estate. As for Phopachy, he is not a Fraser of the family of Lovat or of this country. He pretends to be of another branch of the Frasers of the South; but it is little matter, for he has not a single man in the lordship of Lovat that would go a mile of ground with him or salute him on the high road, while they believed that he was disagreeable to me. His father was a

prettier fellow than fifty of this Phopachy, and yet when I turned him off he would not get one man in the country that would salute him on the high road. Foyers, Struy, and Phopachy are Castle Leathers' heroes; the first two most despicable idiots, and the last a man that has no more interest in this country than your footman has. I leave you to think what service they can perform for the pensions which Major Fraser promises them in the Earl of Islay's name."*

The domestic habits and manner of life of a man like Lord Lovat cannot fail to prove interesting. In a rare pamphlet published in 1791, giving an account of Sergeant Donald Macleod, then in his 103rd year, and at one period of his life Recruiting Sergeant for Lovat's Independent Company, we find an apparently accurate description of his Lordship's personal appearance and mode of living at Castle Dounie. On Macleod's arrival there for the first time he had to wait for a little outside before he could gain access. But we are told that

"As Macleod walked up and down on the lawn before the house, he was soon observed by Lord Lovat, who immediately went out, and bowing to the sergeant with great courtesy, invited him to come in. Lovat was a fine looking tall man, and had something very insinuating in his manner and address. He lived in all the fulness and dignity of the ancient hospitality, being more solicitous, according to the genius of feudal times, to retain and multiply adherents than to accumulate wealth by the improvement of his estate. As scarcely any fortune, and certainly not his fortune, was adequate to the extent of his views, he was obliged to regulate his unbounded hospitality by rules of prudent economy. As his spacious hall was crowded by kindred visitors, neighbours, vassals and tenants of all ranks, the table, that extended from one end of it nearly to the other, was covered at different places with different kinds of meat and drink, though of each kind there was always great abundance. At the head of the table the lords and lairds pledged his Lordship in claret and sometimes in champagne; the tacksmen or duniwassels drank port or whisky punch; tenants or common husbandmen refreshed themselves with strong beer; and below the utmost extent of the table, at the door, and sometimes without the door of the hall, you might see a multitude of Frasers, without shoes or bonnets, regaling themselves with bread and onions, with a little cheese, perhaps, and small beer. Yet, amidst the whole of this aristocratical inequality, Lord Lovat had the address to keep all his guests in perfect good humour. 'Cousin,' he would say to

such and such a tacksman, 'I told my pantry lads to hand you some claret, but they tell me you like port and punch best. In like manner, to the beer-drinkers he would say, 'Gentlemen, there is what you please at you service; but I send you ale, because I understand you like ale best.' Everybody was thus well pleased; and none were so ill-bred as to gainsay what had been reported to his Lordship."

A very similar account is supplied by James Ferguson, the astronomer, who in early life resided for several months at Castle Dounie, and supplied the following information to a well-known antiquarian of his time. Lord Lovat, according to Ferguson's account,

"Kept a sort of court and several public tables, and had a very numerous body of retainers always attending. His own constant residence and the place where he received company, and even dined constantly with them, was just in one room only, and that the very room wherein he lodged. And his Lady's sole apartment was also her own bedchamber; and the only provision made for lodging either of the domestic servants, or of the numerous herd of retainers, was a quantity of straw, which was spread over night on the floors of the four lower rooms of this sort of tower-like structure, where the whole inferior part of the family, consisting of a very great number of persons, took up their abode. Sometimes about 400 persons, attending this petty court, were kennelled there, and I have heard the same worthy man (Ferguson), from whose lips the exact account of what is here related has been taken, declare that of those wretched dependants he has seen, in consequence of the then existing right of heritable jurisdiction, three or four, and sometimes half-a-dozen, hung up by the heels for hours on the few trees around the mansion."

From the general appearance of Hogarth's famous picture of his Lordship one is disposed to conclude that he was a very short, stout person, but it will be seen that Sergeant Donald Macleod describes him as "a fine looking, tall man," and this is fully corroborated by others who knew him.

On the authority of Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, Dr Hill Burton confirms the accounts already given, with slight variations, and supplies additional details regarding his Lordship's habits and surroundings when at home. He says—

"At the long table at Castle Dounie the guests and the viands had a corresponding progression downwards. At the head of the table where there were neighbouring chiefs or distinguished strangers, claret and French cookery graced the board. The next department

was occupied by the Duine wassels, who enjoyed beef and mutton, with a glass of some humbler wine. The sturdy commoners of the clan would occupy the next range, feeding on sheep's heads, and drinking whisky or ale. In further progress the fare degenerated with the feeders, and clustering on the Castle green in sunshine, or cowering in the outhouses in foul weather, were congregated the ragamuffins of the clan to gnaw the bones and devour the other offal. It was a rule of the house that the day's provender, whatever it might be, should be consumed; and if the deer stalker or the salmon spearer had been more fortunate than usual, the rumour would spread fast enough to bring an immediate demand for the supply. This practice gave much temptation to the troop of servants who attended the table to snatch away unfinished dishes; and many amusing instances have been recorded of the necessity of the guest at Castle Dounie preserving a ceaseless watch over his plate, and of the certainty of its instantaneously disappearing during any moment of negligence. When the chief's distinguished clerical relative, Dr Cumming of Relugas, arrived at Castle Dounie one night, tired and hungry, after crossing the mountains, there was not a morsel of food to be found, not an egg or a crust of bread, but a plentiful provision for the day's consumption was brought in next morning.*

He certainly was on the most intimate terms with Lord Grange, whether he had anything to do with the abduction of Lady Grange, as she alleges, or not. Dr Hill Burton relates the following amusing tradition about one of their convivial meetings, which, he says, he obtained on excellent authority—Dr Carlyle, who afterwards became minister of Inveresk, and who was the friend of Hume, Smith, Robertson, and Blair, was one day, in his youth, striding contemplatively through a field near Prestonpans, when he was addressed by Erskine of Grange, who was in search of some one to dine with him that day, to meet a friend. He invited the young divine, with whom he had some acquaintance. The friend was Lovat, and the social union was of such a character as a young divine can seldom have an opportunity of witnessing. The two old Lords of course "got fiercely drunk"; the most innocent part, on the whole, of their proceedings. They then insisted on having the society of the landlady of the tavern and her female assistants, with whom they danced a series of

* *Life of Simon Lord Lovat*, pp. 173-174.

boisterous reels, "interspersed with those roystering personal compliments which are said to be the peculiar attendant of the national dance in its pure state."

Probably this is the same occasion of which the following curious account is given by the late Rev. Allan Sinclair, M.A., of Kenmore. It appears that after the Rev. Donald Fraser, subsequently minister of Killearnan, had given up his office of tutor to Simon, Master of Lovat, that position was occupied by John Halket, afterwards parish schoolmaster of Prestonpans. Lord Simon was so satisfied with Halket as tutor of his eldest son that when he resolved upon sending his second son, Alexander, to Edinburgh for his education, he decided upon boarding him with that gentleman, and in the summer of 1741, he travelled South along with his boy to see him placed under Halket's charge. On this occasion, Mr Sinclair says, Carlyle, afterwards minister of Inveresk, dined with Lovat and his party; and in his diary has recorded a few reminiscences of the event, which give a glimpse of what Lovat was at such times. The company consisted of Erskine of Grange—the husband of the unfortunate Lady Grange—gentlemen of the Fraser clan, Lovat himself, his son, Alexander, Halket, and Carlyle. As soon as seated at table, Lovat and Grange disputed as to which of them should say grace—when at length Lovat yielded, and repeated two or three pious sentences in French, which were understood only by Grange and Carlyle. Grace over, Lovat politely asked Carlyle to help him to a whiting from a dish of fish next him, which he did, the latter remarking at the same time "they were not whittings but haddocks, but that according to the proverb he who got a haddock for a whiting was not ill off." At this Lovat stormed, says Carlyle, and "swore more than fifty dragoons." He was sure they were whittings, as he had distinctly ordered them. Halket, who knew Lovat well, tipped Carlyle, who took the hint, adding "that as he had but small skill in these things, and as his Lordship had ordered the fish, he must be mistaken," whereupon his Lordship calmed down, became pleasant, ate the fish, and again swore "that he never

could eat haddocks all his life." The landlady afterwards told Carlyle that he was right, that they were haddocks, but that she ordered her cook to scrape out St Peter's mark, as she could not procure whittings as Lovat had ordered her to do. The claret appears to have been good, and as the wine circulated freely, the two old gentlemen became merry, and their conversation youthful and gay. "What I observed," says Carlyle, "was that Grange, without appearing to flatter him, was very observant of Lovat, did everything to please him, engaged Lord Drummore's piper to discourse music to him—according to Grange a first-class performer, but of whom Lovat said 'that he was fit only to play reels to his (Grange's) oyster women.'" The landlady's daughter, a handsome young woman, having on some errand come into the room, Lovat insisted on her dancing a reel with them. Though not less than seventy-five years and Grange not much younger, the wine and the young lady emboldened the two old gentlemen to dance away to the music of the bagpipes, till the young damsel, on observing in course of his dancing evolutions Lovat's gouty legs to be as thick as posts fell into an uncontrollable fit of laughter, and ran away, to the discomfiture of the old gentleman, but greatly to the merriment of the youthful members of the party. "Lovat," says Carlyle, "was tall and stately, and might have been handsome in his youth, with a very flat nose. His manner was not disagreeable, though his address consisted chiefly of gross flattery, and in the due application of money. He did not make on me the impression of a man of leading mind, while his suppleness and profligancy were apparent."* We have already seen that Lord Grange was one of Lord Lovat's legal advisers.

Let us now give the estimate of a writer who evidently knew him personally, as well as all about him and his family. He is the author of a pamphlet published in 1746, entitled *Memoirs of the Life of Simon Fraser Lord Lovat*. Dr Hill Burton says that this is "the least inaccurate" biographical contemporary account of his Lordship which has ever

* *Celtic Magazine*, vol. x., p. 551-552.

appeared. "This rare tract," he says "has been seldom, if ever, cited by late writers; while a work called *Memoires de la Vie du Lord Lovat*, published in Amsterdam in 1747, which is a mere translation of it, has been referred to as an original authority." This pamphlet was re-published in 1892 by Peter Fraser, bookseller, Beaulieu, who, however, by a misprint describes it as "from the rare 1767 edition." It bears internal evidence of having been written during Lord Simon's life; for the author, it will be observed, predicts that his Lordship's "present conduct" in connection with the rebellion of 1745 "must end in his own destruction and the ruin of his family." This consummation was still in the future when the pamphlet was penned. Its author, who it will be seen writes in the present tense, says—

"Lord Lovat, as to his person, makes an odd and grotesque figure, he is generally more loaded with clothes than a Dutchman with his nine or ten pairs of breeches; he is tall in stature and walks very upright, considering his great age, and is tolerably well shaped; he has a large mouth and short nose, with eyes very much contracted and down looking, a very small forehead, almost all covered with a large periwig; this gives him a sour and grim aspect, but upon addressing himself to any one, he puts on a smiling and obliging countenance, which is not at all disagreeable; he is near sighted, and affects to be more so than he really is; he was naturally of a robust and vigorous constitution, and a strong and active body hardened by fatigue, innured to hunger and thirst, heat and cold, and improved by all manly exercises; but his long confinement in the Bastille [this should be the Castle of Angouleme] had greatly impaired his constitution; he has, however, taken such care of himself, that he still preserves a degree of health and vigour very uncommon at so advanced an age. He is a man of some share of learning and of great parts and abilities of mind. His universal experience and great attention to political matters have made him acquainted with men as well as books; he is polite, affable and agreeable in conversation, and so great a master in flattery and dissimulation that he generally pleases and gains the good will, if not the esteem, of those he converses with, however prejudiced or prepossessed they might have been against him. His knowledge of the history and genealogy of all the great families in Scotland contributes not a little to this, for there is no person in that country, but he will make out to be a relation or ally of some noble or ancient family, or a descendant of some virtuous

and illustrious hero. In this traditional history he pays little regard to truth, provided he can give his story the air of probability; he seems to entertain his guests with the utmost cheerfulness and hospitality, but being sordidly avaricious he grumbles privately at the least expense, and though to their faces he caresses them, yet no sooner do they turn about their backs than he pronounces curses and execrations against them for the trouble and charge they put him to. He is ambitious and proud, but when it serves his turn cringing, mean, and fawning. He is crafty and subtle, but at times open and unguarded in his speeches and actions, and that even in matters of great concern; by this means he has frequently involved himself in dangers and difficulties; but he is very fertile in expedients, and has almost always been hitherto successful in extricating himself out of such scrapes. His restless and active disposition conduces not a little to draw him into snares, but a ready invention and a bold and speedy execution helps him out of them. He is much addicted to enthusiasm and superstitious notions, by which he is greatly governed in many cases. In business he is unjust and unconscionable, and avows that his own profit or pleasure has always been the rule of his actions, and to that he has on all occasions sacrificed every other consideration; this has led him to violence, rapes, cruelty, revenge, treachery, and every base and infamous practice when it suited his purpose; this has made him put himself into all shapes and appearances, and therefore rendered him detested and depised by all good and virtuous men, dreaded by some, and scorned and derided by others. He is naturally brave and resolute, and though as to invisible powers, he is fearful and timid, and as to his health and the lesser accidents of life, scrupulous to a degree of pusillanimity, yet in time of imminent danger he is bold and undaunted. He is of an amorous and fallacious temper, but for many years past, he has been very cautious in respect of women of rank, being sensible that intrigues of that sort are often attended with disagreeable consequences; he therefore made his addresses to the lowest and meanest of the female sex, and by that means tasted all the sweets without any alloy of the bitters of love; besides, his absolute sway over them saved him the troubles of a long and laborious courtship, which he had but little time for on account of the multiplicity of his affairs. In fine he is a cruel and oppressive master, an imperious and outrageous husband, a tyrannical and severe parent, a false hearted and treacherous friend, and an arbitrary and despotic chief. To conclude, it may be looked upon as a strange phenomenon, not easily to be accounted for, that his Lordship being a person of great penetration and long experience in business, who had for many years struggled with powerful enemies, and with poverty and distress, and at last conquered them all (which he boasted he had done without effusion of human blood in any one

instance, and therefore assumed for his motto, *sine sanguine victor*), and after he had established himself in the right and possession of that title and estate, which he had long contended for, he should now be drawn into a chimerical and desperate scheme in concert with a nation that he knew to be treacherous and perfidious, which must end in his own destruction and the ruin of his family. The motives of those concerned therein may be various, such as enthusiasm, madness, ignorance, poverty, and the like; others may look upon our calamities as proceeding from a certain fatality or providential direction of human affairs; however fantastical such notions may seem to be. I find the famous Tully entertained such an opinion, when talking of the civil war between Pompey and Cæsar; his words are '*Ac mihi quidem si proprium et verum nomen nostri mali queratur, fatalis quædam calamitas incidisse videtur, et improvidas hominum mentes occupavisse, ut nemo mirari debeat humana consilia divinâ necessitate esse superata.*' But with regard to his Lordship I think his present conduct can hardly be accounted for in any other way, than by supposing that it proceeded from a deliberate and malignant purpose to ruin and subvert our present Government, merely because they have not thought fit to gratify his ambitious and avaricious passions and desires."

Lord Lovat's demeanour in the Tower of London after sentence of death was passed upon him, and while awaiting execution, was indeed remarkable and probably the most creditable and dignified part of his life; and it is fortunate that a full and trustworthy narrative of it has been preserved in *A Candid and Impartial Account of the Behaviour of Simon Lord Lovat*, written "by a gentleman who attended his Lordship in his last moments," and published only five days after his death in a pamphlet, now very rare. In the preface to it, dated the 14th of April, 1747, the author, after referring to the usual curiosity of the public regarding cases of this kind and the tendency to misrepresent the facts and incidents of the last moments of men like Lord Lovat, says—

"In order, therefore, to satisfy the curious, and to prevent any spurious accounts from being imposed on the public, I think it my duty to inform them that the following sheets contain every particular incident and occurrence which happened from the hour his Lordship's death warrant came to the Tower to his final exit. And I do aver that it was not possible for any person besides myself and the warders attending to give a true and faithful account thereof. I attended the whole time, by the desire of his Lordship and his friends. I saw

every transaction, I heard every word, and therefore the following narrative may be depended on. But how any other person can have the assurance to give these particulars is to me beyond measure surprising. Had it been possible for a ready amanuensis to have stood behind a curtain, or listened at a door or window, some colour of truth might probably have appeared ; but in this case, where all avenues were stopped, what can be expected from a daring and distant author but extravagant assertions, random conjectures, and palpable absurdities."

The writer then proceeds with his narrative—Though an eye-witness of Lovat's trial before the Lords and of his extraordinary behaviour there, "I little thought," he says, "to find that uncommon gaiety and jocoseness accompany him in his last moments. I was indeed too well acquainted with his Lordship to imagine he would shudder much at the sight of death ; but yet I expected that it would abate somewhat of his natural vivacity, and reduce him to a more serious turn of mind ; however, neither the apprehension of pain and agony or the thoughts of his speedy dissolution seemed to give him any uneasiness." He then records the more striking incidents which occurred and the remarks made by his Lordship, each day until the last scene, of which he supplies a detailed and highly interesting account. The most characteristic and important are as follows:—

On Friday, the 3rd of April, when the warrant came for his execution, and the bearer of it told him that he was sorry to be the messenger of such bad news, his Lordship replied very cheerfully, "God's will be done," and then taking him by the hand, drank his health, thanked him kindly for the favour (as he called it) and assured him that he was so well satisfied with his doom that he would not change stations with any Prince in Europe. In the evening he smoked his pipe, mentioned some circumstances relating to his trial, and was very cheerful.

On Saturday morning he was informed that an engine was to be erected to take off his head ; at which he grew pleasant, and said it was a fine contrivance ; for as his neck was very short the executioner would be puzzled to find it out with his axe ; and if such a machine was made they

might call it "Lord Lovat's Maiden." He was very cheerful all day, and talked a good deal of his own personal affairs, and, among other things, said he was concerned in all the schemes that had been formed for restoring the Royal Family since he was fifteen years old; but that he had never betrayed a private man or a public cause in his life, and that he never shed a drop of blood with his own hand.

On Sunday morning he rose pretty early, and behaved with his usual gaiety, talked for some time about his family, and showed those around him a copy of a letter he had sent to his son, then a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle, in the following terms:—

"My dear Simon,—Notwithstanding my great distress and affliction you are always present with me, and I offer my prayers to heaven for you. You see now by experience that this world is but vanity of vanities, and that there is no trust to be put in the arm of flesh; you see that God's providence rules the world, and that no man or family but must yield to it, whether he will or not. Happy is the man, that in all the cross accidents of this life, submits himself to the will and providence of God, with sincere humility and patience. It is the blessed trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit that can deliver you and me from our present melancholy situation. We have provoked God by our sins, which most certainly have brought those troubles upon us. I do sincerely thank God for those troubles, because they have brought me from the way of sin that I lived many years in, to a way of repentance and humiliation, and instructed me to follow my dear Saviour the Lord Jesus Christ as I ought to do. I, therefore, my dear child, earnestly beg of you with the sincere heart of a tender and affectionate father, to repent of all your sins and transgressions, and to throw yourself at the foot of the cross of Christ, begging for his sufferings' sake, which you know were great, to give you true repentance, to forgive your sins, and be reconciled to you for the sake of His blood, that He shed upon the cross for sinners, and beg of Him to preserve you from the snares of the devil, the world, and the flesh; which will be too many for you without His divine assistance, and if you have a true contrition for your sins, and are reconciled with zeal and affection to your Saviour, you'll find comforts that cannot be expressed. If you put your sole confidence in Jesus Christ, He will certainly bring you out of all your troubles, and make you the happiest Lord Lovat that ever was; so, my very dear child, I beg of you for God's sake,

for your own sake, for my sake, and for the sake of your brothers and sisters, to throw yourself upon God's mercies, which have been ever of old ; repent of your sins and live a sincere Christian, and righteous life, and you will certainly bring God's blessing upon yourself, your family, and kindred ; and if you neglect this my parental advice, which by the laws of God and nature, I am obliged to give you, you may assure yourself of becoming miserable in this world, and eternally miserable in the next. I know not yet what my fate may be, but bless God, I am prepared to go to the scaffold and block to-morrow, if God in his divine will and providence hath ordered it so ; so, my dear child, don't be in the least concerned for me, for I bless God I have strong reasons to hope, that when it is God's will to call me out of this world, it will be by His mercy, and the suffering of my Saviour Jesus Christ to enjoy everlasting happiness in the other world. I wish this may be yours, and am, my dear child, your affectionate father, etc."

On Monday his Lordship got up about seven o'clock and according to his usual custom called for a glass of wine and water. Soon after this the Major of the Tower came to see him, and asked how he did. "Do?" says his Lordship ; "why, I am about doing very well, for I am preparing myself, sir, for a place, where hardly any Majors, and very few Lieutenant-Generals go." A certain nobleman came to see him this day, and asked him some questions about his religion ; to which he answered, that he was a Roman Catholic, and would die in the faith ; that he adhered to the rock upon which Christ built his church ; to Saint Peter, and the succession of pastors, from him down to the present time ; and that he rejected and renounced all sects and communities that were rejected by the Church.*

On Tuesday morning he rose as usual about seven, and after drinking his glass of wine and water, desired one of the warders to lay a pillow at the feet of the bed, that he might try if he could kneel down sufficiently and fix his head low enough for the block ; which being done, he made the attempt, and told the warder that he believed by this short practice he should be able to act his part in the forthcoming tragedy well enough. He then asked

* He desired the attendance of Mr Baker, chaplain to the Sardinian Ambassador, to perform the last offices of the Catholic Church for him.

the warder—"Do you think the executioner will be able to take off my head without hacking me; for I have reserved ten guineas in a purse, which he shall have if he does his business well." "My Lord," said a gentleman who came to see him and was present, "I'm sorry you should have occasion for him at all." To which his Lordship replied, "So I believe are many of those who were the cause of my coming hither, and for aught I know, all of them will by-and-bye. The taking off my head, I believe, will do them no service, but if it will, God bless them with it; though I can't but think myself hardly dealt by. In the first place, I was stripped of everything, and might have wanted even the common necessities of life, had not my cousin, Mr William Fraser, advanced a considerable sum of money to General Williamson, and promised on certain conditions to pay for my further subsistence; and then to be convicted by my own servants, by the men that had been nurtured in my own bosom and I had been so kind to is shocking to human nature; but I believe each of them has a sting of conscience on this account that will bear him company to the grave; though I am very far from wishing either of them any evil. 'Tis a sad thing, sir, for a man's own servants to take off the head of their master and chief." Then this gentleman informed his Lordship that a Mr Painter, of St. John's College, Oxford, had sent three letters—one to the King, one to the Earl of Chesterfield, and another to Mr Pelham—desiring that he might suffer in his Lordship's stead. Lovat expressed his surprise. "This," said he, "is an extraordinary man indeed! I should be glad to know what countryman he is, and whether the thing is fact. Perhaps it may be only a finesse in politics, to cast an odium on some particular place or person; but if there be such a person, he is a miracle in the present age, and will be in the future, for he even exceeds that text of Scripture which says, 'Greater love than this hath no man, than that a man lay down his life for his friend.' However, this man offers to suffer for a stranger. In short, sir, I'm afraid the poor gentleman is weary of living in this wicked

world, and, if that be the case, the obligation is altered, because a part of the benefit is intended for himself."

On Wednesday morning, about two o'clock, his Lordship prayed very devoutly for a considerable time, and called upon the Lord for mercy, as he often did before, with great fervency. About ten o'clock he sang part of a song, at which the warder expressed his surprise, and asked his Lordship how he could be so merry when he was to die to-morrow. To which he replied, that he was "as fit for an entertainment as ever he was in his life." After some conversation, he told those present that he would have his body taken to Scotland, to be interred in his own tomb in the Church of Kirkhill; and that he had once made a codicil to his will, where all the pipers from John o'Groat's house to Edinburgh were invited to play before his corpse, for which they were to have a handsome allowance, and though that might not be thought proper now, yet he was sure some of the good old women in his country would sing a coronach before him. "And then," says his Lordship, "there will be much crying and clapping of hands, for I am one of the greatest chiefs in the Highlands." After eating a hearty dinner he called for one of the warders, and said—"Now, Willy, give me a pipe of tobacco, and that will be the last I shall ever smoke, unless people smoke tobacco in the other world." Soon after, the Governor of the Tower paid him a visit, when his Lordship rose and offered him his easy chair, which the Governor politely refused, saying he was sorry his Lordship should give himself the trouble to rise out of his seat on his account. "What, sir, I hope you would not have me be unmannerly the last day of my life," Lovat replied.

Upon the Governor's entrance his Lordship deferred smoking his pipe, and talked about various matters. William Fraser, his agent, and James Fraser came to visit him at the same time and he talked a good while with them concerning his family affairs, and the management of his funeral. After this he again called for his pipe, and, while smoking it, asked one of his warders if his message

had been carried to Lord Traquair, and what answer he made? "His Lordship," replied the warder, "bids you an eternal farewell, wishes you happy, and is offering up his prayers for you." "'Tis very kind of him, and I thank him for it. Come, Mr Southbey," says his Lordship to the warder, "give me some water, and put a little wine in it." And then taking up his tobacco-stopper, he said, "My pipe is almost out, as well as my glass." He then asked about General Williamson's family, spoke very kindly of him; and having been informed that Miss Williamson was so affected that she could not take her leave of him, he remarked, "God bless the dear child, and make her eternally happy, for she is a kind-hearted, good lass." After this, his Lordship sent a message to the cook, desiring her to roast a piece of veal, that it might be ready to mince for his breakfast next morning. He then asked the warders to sit down and smoke with him, which they did, and drank a glass of wine and wished him a good journey. "Amen," quoth he; and knocking the ashes out of his pipe, said, "now gentlemen, the end of all human grandeur is like this snuff of tobacco." He seemed to have a great regard for his two warders. After his pipe was out, he thanked them kindly for taking so much care of him; "and now, gentlemen," says he, "I have but one favour more to ask of you: and that is that you go upon the scaffold with me, and that you do not leave me until you see the head cut off this body." They both promised; and afterwards one of them told him, that if ever he lived to see his son, the Master of Lovat, he would let him know with what tenderness his Lordship parted with him. "Do," says my Lord, "and he will take notice of you. If he don't, he won't do well. But pray," says he, "have you got any wine for me in the morning, and some bitters, if I should want to carry any to the scaffold." Upon inquiry it was found that there were no bitters left in the bottle, whereupon his Lordship gave the warder a shilling to send for a bottle of Stoughton's Elixir. After the messenger had left the warder recollected that there was some burnt brandy and

bitters left in a bottle which his Lordship had with him at Westminster Hall, when on his trial, and informed him of it. "'Tis very well, very well, sir," says he, "pray take it in your pocket, and give me a sup if I should want it." His Lordship, who was eighty years of age, then took up a book with a small print, and read it by candle light for nearly two hours without spectacles. He told those around him that he studied some years at Aberdeen, and then assured them that he was bred a Protestant, but going abroad, and having some disputes with Father ———, he found himself very much staggered in his principles, and prayed to God to direct him in the right way. That after this, he studied divinity and controversy three years, and then turned Roman Catholic. "This is my faith," said he, "but I have charity for all mankind, and I believe every sincere honest man bids fair for heaven, let his persuasion be what it will, for the mercies of the Almighty are great, and His ways past finding out." About nine o'clock he desired the warders to undress him, and his breeches, shoes, and stockings having been pulled off, he stood before the fire to warm himself as usual. The warder then going up to him said he was sorry that to-morrow was to be such a bad day with him. "Bad! for what," says Lovat, "do you think I am afraid of an axe? 'Tis a debt we all owe, and what we must all pay, and don't you think it better to go off in this manner than to linger with consumption, or gout, dropsy, fever, etc.; though I must needs own, my constitution is so good, that I could have lived twenty years longer I believe, if I had not been called hither." Here his Lordship offered to put off his coat and waistcoat, and as it was his custom to pull them off by the bedside, the warder reminded him of that. "Good now," says he, "I had forgotten that I was so far from the bed! but perhaps you might have forgotten too, had your head been to be cut off to-morrow!"

On Thursday, the day of his execution, he awoke about three in the morning, and prayed devoutly. At five he got up, called for wine and water, according to his usual

custom, and seemed as cheerful as ever. Being placed in his chair, he sat and read until seven, when he called for another glass of wine and water. About eight he requested Mr Sherrington, one of the warders, to send his wig, that the barber might have time to comb it out in a genteel manner. He then called for a purse to put the money in it for the executioner, and asked that it should be a good one, "lest the gentleman should refuse it." Mr Southbey, one of the warders, brought him two purses, the one a green silk knit, and the other a yellow canvas. Choosing one of them, his Lordship remarked that "it was a purse that no man would dislike with ten guineas in it." He was now within a few hours of his end. He had behaved with surprising intrepidity during his whole confinement, and though he had a great mind and understanding, and an awful idea of religion and a future state, no one ever observed in any gesture or speech the least shadow of fear or any symptom of uneasiness about him. He was the same facetious companion now as before sentence was passed upon him. About half-past eight the barber brought his wig, which was not powdered as much as usual, on account of its being a rainy day. At this his Lordship seemed angry, and remarked that he went to the block with pleasure, and that if he had a suit of embroidered velvet he would wear it on the occasion. He then spoke to the barber about his principles, saying that his religious notions were extreme and singular, "For the soul is a spiritual substance, and can no more be dissolved for a time, or buried with the body, than it can be annihilated entirely," at the same time smiling. "My Lord," replied the barber, "you'll soon see that." "Yes," said his Lordship, "I hope to be in heaven by one o'clock, or I should not be so merry now." He then saluted the barber, and bade him farewell. At half-past nine he called for his prearranged plate of minced veal, ate very heartily, afterwards called for wine and water, and drank the healths of several of his friends present and absent.

At ten an accident occurred on Tower Hill by the fall of a scaffold, which put all the crowd in great confusion. Several

persons were killed and a large number were maimed and bruised. At eleven the Sheriffs of London sent a message to the Governor demanding Lovat's body. This having been communicated to his Lordship, he asked that the curtains might be drawn, and that those present should retire for a few minutes while he prayed. The request was of course immediately complied with ; but in a very short time he called for them saying "I'm ready." He then proceeded on his way to the scaffold, but on arriving at the foot of the first part of the stairs the Governor, General Williamson, invited him into his private room to rest himself. On entering he paid his respects to the ladies present with great politeness, then to the gentlemen, talked very freely, and asked the Governor, in the French language, "Whether he might have the honour to see his lady, to return her his last thanks for the favours and civilities he had received from her"; to which the Governor replied, in the same language, "My spouse is so greatly affected with your Lordship's misfortunes that she cannot bear the shock of seeing you at this time and begs to be excused." He then set out on his last journey. When he reached the door, he bowed to the people, was then put into the Governor's coach and driven to the outer gate, where he was taken out of the carriage and delivered over to the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, who conducted him in another carriage to a house near the scaffold which had been lined with black cloth and hung with sconces for his Lordship's reception. Here he was taken into their immediate custody, and all his companions denied entrance ; whereupon his Lordship applied to the Sheriffs asking that his friends and relations who accompanied him from the Tower might be permitted to be along with him to the end. Sheriff Alsop then came out and requested that his Lordship's friends should walk up, a favour for which he earnestly thanked the Sheriffs, and said it was a great consolation to him that his body fell into the hands of gentlemen of so much honour, adding, "I will give you gentlemen and the Government no further trouble, for I shall make no speech ; though I have a paper to leave, with

which you may do as you think proper." Here he placed his hand in his pocket, delivered a manuscript to one of the Sheriffs, and then said that they might give the word of command when they pleased, adding that he was accustomed to obey, for he had been an officer in the army for many years. At this stage a gentleman present began to read a prayer to his Lordship while sitting down ; but he called one of the warders who attended him to help him up, so that he might kneel. He then offered a prayer by himself, which no one could hear, and turning about he was again set down in his chair and seemed very cheerful. The Sheriff then asked him if he would refresh himself with a glass of wine. His Lordship thanked him, but said "he could not drink any without warm water along with it," and that not being procurable in that place, he took a little of the burnt brandy and bitters which he had previously ordered one of the warders to carry in his pocket ; and, turning to the Sheriff, he said that he was ready whenever he pleased. He then asked that his clothes should be delivered to his friends along with his corpse, and be not given to the executioner, to whom, he said, he should for that reason give ten guineas.

His Lordship then asked if he might have the axe brought him to ascertain if it was sharp enough, and desired that his head, when taken off, might be received in a cloth and put into the coffin along with his body. At this the Sheriff stepped aside, and observed to some gentlemen present that he had received a warrant to carry out the execution in the usual form, but as it had not been customary of late years to expose the head at the four corners of the scaffold, he thought that he might indulge his Lordship with a promise on that point, and then, turning to Lovat, told him that what he desired should be granted to him.

When his Lordship came out of the room, in which they were in the meantime waiting, into the passage leading up to the scaffold, he observed a gentleman and asked his name. He replied that it was North. "Well," says Lovat, "let it be North and Grey," and added with a smile, "Come,

my Lords North and Grey, conduct me to the block." When ascending the steps to the scaffold he turned round, and on seeing such a crowd exclaimed, "God save us, why should there be such a bustle about taking off an old grey head that can't get up three steps without two men to support him." Observing one of his friends much dejected, he clapped him on the shoulder, and said, "cheer up thy heart, man, I am not afraid, why should you?"

When he mounted the scaffold the first thing he asked for was the executioner, who was immediately presented to him. Whereupon his Lordship put his hand into his pocket, and pulling out a purse with ten guineas in it, said, "here, sir, is ten guineas for you, pray do your work well; for if you should cut and hack my shoulders, and I should be able to rise again, I shall be very angry with you." He then asked the executioner to show him the axe, which that functionary refused to do without permission from the Sheriff; but upon application, his request was granted; and when the instrument of death was brought to him, he laid hold of it, felt its edge, and said that he believed it would do. He then rose from the chair which had been placed on the scaffold for him and had a look at his coffin, on which was inscribed—

"SIMON DOMINUS FRASER DE LOVAT, DECOLLAT, April 9, 1747, ÆTAT SUÆ 80."

Again sitting down he repeated the following line from Horace—

"Dulce et decorum est pro Patri mori."

"Tis a glorious and pleasant thing to die for our country."

And then this line from Ovid—

"Nam genus et quæ non fecimis ipsi, vix ea nostra voco."

"For those things which were done either by our fathers or ancestors, and in which we ourselves had no share, I can scarcely call our own."

He then requested all the people to withdraw except his two warders, who supported him while he prayed, after which he called for William Fraser, his solicitor and agent in Scotland, and, holding up his gold-headed cane,

said to him, "I deliver you this cane in token of my sense of your faithful services, and of my committing to you all the power I have upon earth"; and for the second time embraced him. He then called for James Fraser, and embracing him also, said, "my dear James, I am going to Heaven, but you must continue to crawl a little longer in this evil world." And taking his leave of both, he delivered his hat to William Fraser, and asked him to take care that the executioner did not touch any of his clothes. He then pulled off his wig, ordered his cap to be put on, and putting off his upper garments, delivered them along with his wig to the same gentleman. Unloosing his cravat and the neck of his shirt, he kneeled down on the block, and took hold of the cloth which was placed to receive his head, and pulled it close to him. But having laid too near the block the executioner desired him to remove a little further back. This he did, and placing his neck in a proper attitude, he told the executioner that he would say a short prayer, and then drop his handkerchief as a signal for him to do his work. In this posture he remained for about half-a-minute, and then threw his handkerchief upon the floor, when instantly the executioner at one blow severed his head from his body. It was received in a scarlet cloth, wrapped up, and along with his body placed in the coffin and carried in a hearse back to the Tower, where it remained until four o'clock, and then taken away by an undertaker, in order to be sent to Scotland to be deposited in the burying-place of his family.

The following is the paper delivered by his Lordship to the Sheriffs:—

"As it may be reasonably expected that I should say something of myself in this place, I declare that I die a true, but unworthy member of the Holy Catholic Apostolic Church.

"As to my death, I cannot but look upon it as glorious.

"I sincerely pardon all my enemies, persecutors, and slanderers, from the highest to the lowest, whom God forgive, as I heartily do, and die in perfect charity with all mankind.

"I sincerely repent of all my sins, and firmly hope to obtain pardon and forgiveness for them, through the merits and passion

of my blessed Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ, into whose hands I recommend my soul. Amen. LOVAT.

"In the Tower, April 9, 1747."

His body, according to a contemporary, was buried in the Tower of London, "with the other rebel Lords,"* but if so, there seems to be no doubt that the remains were subsequently disinterred, taken to the North, and laid in the family vault in the Church of Kirkhill. Hugh Inglis, belonging to Inverness, who sailed a vessel of his own named the *Pledger*, between that town and London, being in the English Metropolis at the time of Lovat's execution, wrote a letter to Bailie Gilbert Gordon of Inverness, dated the 11th of April, 1747, two days after Lord Simon's death, in the course of which he says—"Poor Lord Lovat was beheaded a few hours after writing you my last. He behaved like an old true *deulnach*; quite undaunted he went to the last; made several witty speeches, which seemed quite agreeable to the bulk of the people. His corpse is to be brought down by the *Pledger*, which is to leave London this ensuing week."† This should set the matter, so long in doubt, finally at rest.

He appears to have indulged the idea almost to the last that the Government would not carry out the extreme penalty of the law, and the universal opinion was and still is that it was a great mistake to have done so. Mr Laing in his *History of Scotland* says, "that whatever the character or crimes might be, the humanity of the British Government incurred a deep reproach from the execution of an old man on the very verge of the grave." Dr Hill Burton expresses the same feeling. It was, he says, a melancholy instance of the inefficiency of harsh laws, that the system which could not prevent a citizen from sporting with the interests of the community for sixty years "should make such mighty exertions to cut off a few years of his paralysed life. It could furnish but a poor warning to

* *Scots Magazine* for 1747, p. 158.

† The letter is given at length in a foot-note in the new edition of *Historical and Traditional Sketches of Highland Families*, recently published by John Noble, Inverness.

ardent young political adventurers, to behold the axe of the avenger so long in falling on the victim; and would scarcely frighten them from compromising their lot in chances so long deferred. The old man's grey hairs excited a sympathy which he knew the art of cultivating; and if he had been left powerless and poor, to wither in unpitied solitude, seeing all his schemes baffled, and the policy he had so skilfully cultivated reversed, he would have afforded a more solemn example to those whose projects of ambition are not founded on the honest wish to serve their fellow creatures."*

The William Fraser who accompanied his Lordship in the Tower and on the scaffold was his Edinburgh law-agent, the "Little Willie Fraser" whom Lovat describes as being "married to a very pretty smart woman that will take great care of" his eldest son, Simon, Master of Lovat, in that city, whom he had for some time in charge. James Fraser, who was also present and was embraced by his Lordship, was the second son of the Fraser of Phopachy who was so much maligned by Lovat on repeated occasions, under the most offensive and opprobrious names. In one place he describes him as a "hellish knave." In the Records of the Tower, under date 24th of March, 1747, he is designated "James Fraser, Apothecary, in Craven Street," as one of the six gentlemen for whom Lord Lovat requested permission to have access to him in prison, and who were allowed to see his Lordship "at all seasonable times, provided that no more than two of the said persons be at one time admitted to him."

Lord Lovat married first, in December, 1716, Margaret, fourth daughter of Ludovick Grant of Grant, and it is said that the festivities on the occasion of the marriage celebration were more than ordinarily characteristic of a great Highland wedding. Extensive preparations were evidently made for it a considerable time in advance. The account for groceries and spices alone amounted to £69 9s 6d Scots, and included 16 lbs. 12 ounces of white sugar at 12s per

* *Life of Simon Lord Lovat*, pp. 261-262.

pound; 8 lbs. of rice at 6d per pound, and any quantity of hops, raisins, and cinnamon. There were also a half hogshead of wine at £7 10s sterling; 17½ bolls of malt; 11 bolls for "brewing aquavitæ," and 12 stones 3 lbs. of butter at £3 6s 8d Scots per stone. The wedding trousseau cost £385 12s Scots.*

By this lady Lord Simon had issue—

1. Simon, his heir and successor as head of the family, who afterwards became distinguished as a General in the British Army, and had the estates restored to him by special Act of Parliament, in 1774.

2. Alexander, who was born in 1729. He was baptized on the 1st of July of that year, died unmarried on the 7th of August, 1762, at Dunmaglass, near Farraline, and was buried at Kirkhill. He seems to have been fond of his bottle. Mrs Grant of Laggan says that he acquired rather too great a relish for the "convivial mode of living." A witness giving evidence in one of the Lovat succession cases testified to the same weakness. He said that "on some occasions the said Brigadier Alexander Fraser passed the night in the deponent's father's house, and on such occasions the deponent, then a boy, used to leave a bottle of whisky at the Brigadier's bedside to be drunk by him during the night, which he generally finished before morning." He served for some time in the Dutch service, but does not seem to have attained the rank of Brigadier, although always so called. Indeed his father is found calling him so when he was quite a romping boy going to school.

3. Janet, who married Ewen Macpherson of Cluny of the 'Forty-five, with issue. She died on the 14th of April, 1765.

4. Sybilla, who died unmarried on the 9th of February, 1755.

The first Lady Lovat died after child-birth in July, 1729, and on the 1st of July, 1733, his Lordship married, secondly, as already stated, Primrose, daughter of the Hon.

* *Chiefs of Grant*, vol. i., p. 351.

John Campbell of Mamore, and sister of John, fourth Duke of Argyll, with issue, one son—

5. Archibald Campbell Fraser, born early in August, 1736. He ultimately succeeded his brother, General Simon Fraser, as head of the clan and in the family estates.

His Lordship was beheaded, as already described, on the 9th of April, 1747, and was succeeded, as head of the family, but not in the honours and estate, by his eldest son,

XIX. GENERAL SIMON FRASER,

Who was a prisoner in the Castle of Edinburgh when his father died, and in the twenty-first year of his age; for he was born on the 19th of October, 1726. His history before and during the Rising of 1745, up to the battle of Culloden is already known to the reader and need not be repeated. He was with the Prince on the 28th of January, 1746, at Bannockburn, when his Royal Highness received word that the Duke of Cumberland was expected to be at Edinburgh in a day or two, and was one of the Highland leaders who advised Charles to retreat towards the North. Soon after this the Master of Lovat seems to have returned to the Highlands to raise more men; for there is no doubt that the Fraser regiment, which at this time consisted of about 500 men, was commanded on the march from Falkirk to Inverness by Charles Fraser, Younger of Inverallochy, who was mortally wounded at their head on the fatal field of Culloden. It has been stated by all our historians, except Sir Walter Scott, and generally believed, that the Master of Lovat was not actually present at the battle, but that he joined with reinforcements as the Frasers were retiring in good order from the field. Indeed, Home in his *History of the Rebellion* says that young Fraser met the retreating Highlanders, half-way between Culloden and Inverness, at the head of 300 more Frasers on their way to the field of battle. But this was apparently an error. Lord George Murray in his detailed account of the marches of the Highlanders—and no one could know better than he—says that before the battle “those about Culloden

House were marching to the muir above the house where they were joined by about three hundred of the Frasers just then coming up." This was the body of three hundred new recruits brought up by the Master in time to take part in the battle. And the fact is corroborated by the first account of the engagement, which appeared in a letter from an officer in the Highland army, published by "T. Warner, near St. Paul's, 1749." This officer says that—"Those who had gone off the night before (the battle) and early that morning to Inverness and other parts, had now joined, and the Master of Lovat was come up with a considerable recruit of his men." The main body of the Frasers took a prominent part in the fight and suffered severely, not fewer than 250 of them having been slain. There were prudential reasons for encouraging and even circulating the statement that the Master was not actually in the fight, as it was believed that his absence might be pleaded with some effect in favour of a pardon, especially when it was so well known that he had been forced into the rebellion by his father.

A description of the tragic death of young Inverallochy, and the brutal conduct of the Duke of Cumberland in connection with it, will be found in our account of the Inverallochy family.

Upon retiring from the field the Prince placed himself at the head of the right wing, which included the Frasers, who had now been joined by a fresh body of 300 men in addition to those brought up by the Master earlier in the day, and marched off with pipes playing and colours flying, the whole body retiring in such good order that Cumberland's cavalry sent to pursue them could make no impression on them. Shortly afterwards, when a little distance from the field, Charles divided his army into two bodies. One of these, consisting of all the Highlanders, except the Frasers and the Lowland regiments, crossed the River Nairn and marched in the direction of Badenoch; while the other division, comprising the Frasers, Lord John Drummond's horse, and the French piquets, proceeded

towards Inverness, suffering most severely from the sabres of Cumberland's cavalry, who pursued them to within a mile of the town.

On the 4th of June following a special Act of Parliament (19 George II., cap. 26) was passed for the apprehension of the leading men who took part in the rebellion and to attain of high treason no fewer than forty-three persons who were still at large. Among these was "Simon Fraser, eldest son and heir apparent of Simon Lord Lovat." He, however, surrendered himself to the authorities on the 2nd of August, and was committed prisoner in November to Edinburgh Castle for high treason. Here he remained until the 15th of August, 1747, when he was liberated and proceeded to Glasgow, where he was to remain during his Majesty's pleasure. In that year it was enacted by the 20 George II., cap. 52, that all the King's subjects in Great Britain should be pardoned of every treasonable offence against the State committed by them before the 15th of June in that year, with certain exceptions specially named, among whom we find the Master of Lovat, James Fraser of Foyers, Simon Fraser of Achnacloich, John Fraser (Macgillespie), Hugh Fraser, son of Alexander Fraser of Leadclune, John Dubh Fraser of Little-Garth, John Fraser of Bruiach, late steward to Lord Simon, and Thomas Fraser of Gortuleg. In the same year the estates of the late Lord Lovat and other persons attainted were vested in the Crown.

In April, 1750, a full and free pardon passed the seals for Simon Fraser of Lovat, and on the 25th of July he was called to the Scottish Bar. In the same year, by the 25 George III., cap. 41, all the lands, lordships, baronies, patronages, titles, fishings, and other like heritages, which became forfeited by the attainder of the persons therein named, and which were vested in his Majesty, viz., the lands of the late Simon Lord Lovat; John Drummond, taking upon himself the style of Lord John Drummond; George, late Earl of Cromarty; and Archibald, son of Coll Macdonald of Barrisdale, were annexed to the Imperial Crown, inalienably and for ever, certain regulations having been

made as to the payment of all the debts affecting them.

Shortly after this Simon received an offer of the command of a regiment in the French service, but although his inclinations were strongly in favour of a military rather than the legal profession, he declined, but applied for permission to serve in the British army, an application which was in a few years granted him, much to the advantage of his country and his own subsequent military fame.

In 1757 William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, with far-seeing prescience, recommended King George II. to attach the Highlanders to his person and interest by employing them in the public service; "and, in evidence of the disappearance of all jealousy on the part of the Crown, the Honourable Simon Fraser, who had himself been engaged in the rebellion, for which his father, Lord Lovat, had been beheaded on Tower Hill, was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of a battalion to be raised on the forfeited estates of his own family, then vested in the Crown, and of those of his kinsmen and clan." The result was remarkable. It at the same time proved the wisdom of Pitt and the fidelity of Simon Fraser to the Crown and of the clan to their chief, although he was without an inch of land that he could call his own. "Without estate, money, or influence," says General Stewart of Garth, "beyond that influence which flowed from attachment to his family, person, and name, this gentleman, in a few weeks, found himself at the head of 800 men recruited by himself. The gentlemen of the country and officers of the regiment, added more than 700; and thus a battalion was formed of 13 companies of 105 rank and file each, making in all 1460 men, including 65 sergeants and 30 drummers and pipers. All accounts concur in describing this as a superior body of men. Their character and actions raised the military reputation and gave a favourable impression of the moral virtue of the sons of the mountains."* Among the officers, whose commissions were dated the 5th of January, 1757, are found the following members of the Colonel's clan:—

* *Highlanders of Scotland*, vol. II., pp. 18-19.

Captains—Simon Fraser of Inverallochy, who was killed on the Heights of Abraham in 1759; Thomas Fraser of Struy; Alexander Fraser of Culduthel; and James Fraser of Belladrum. Captain-Lieutenant—Simon Fraser, who died with the rank of Lieutenant-General in 1812. Lieutenants—John Fraser of Balnain; John Fraser, family not named; Alexander Fraser, killed at Louisburg; another Alexander Fraser; Simon Fraser; and a third Alexander Fraser. Ensigns—John Fraser of Errogie; Simon Fraser; Malcolm Fraser, subsequently Captain in the 84th regiment or Highland Emigrants; and Hugh Fraser, who also became a Captain in the last named corps. Adjutant—Hugh Fraser; and Quarter-Master—John Fraser.

The uniform of the regiment was the full Highland dress, with musket and broadsword—to which several of the men added the dirk at their own cost—and a sporran of badger's or otter's skin. An eagle's or hawk's feather was worn in their bonnets by the officers, while the soldiers ornamented their's with a bunch of the distinguishing mark of the clan or district to which they severally belonged.

This fine body of men was almost immediately marched to Greenock where they embarked in the same ship as Montgomerie's Highlanders, and landed in Halifax, Nova-Scotia, in June 1757, where the regiment, which had been numbered the 78th of the line, remained until the 28th of May, 1758, when it formed a junction with the naval and military expedition of 13,000 men, under Admiral Boscawen, Major-General Amherst, and Brigadier-General Wolfe, sent against Louisburg, Cape Breton, where Colonel Fraser and his Highlanders in General Wolfe's Brigade, from the 2nd of June to the 26th of July, when the place surrendered, highly distinguished themselves and suffered considerably, having had four officers, among whom was Lieutenant Alexander Fraser, and seventeen men killed, and three officers and forty-one rank and file wounded.

Shortly after the regiment landed in Nova-Scotia, it was proposed to change the uniform, as the Highland dress was supposed by some to be unsuitable for the severe winters

and hot summers of North America. But all the officers and men protested most vehemently against the change, and Colonel Fraser having explained to the Commander-in-Chief the great attachment which his Highlanders cherished for their national dress, and the serious consequences which would probably follow if they were deprived of it, they were allowed to retain it without any further interference. An old veteran who embarked and returned home with his regiment, declared to one of his friends, that, "thanks to our generous chief, we were allowed to wear the garb of our fathers, and in the course of six winters showed the doctors that they did not understand our constitutions, for in the coldest winters our men were more healthy than those regiments who wore breeches and warm clothing." General Stewart of Garth, from whose excellent work these particulars are taken, says that on all occasions this brave body of men sustained an uniform character for unshaken firmness, incorruptible probity, and a strict regard both to military and moral duties.

In June 1759, Colonel Simon Fraser at the head of his regiment, serving under General Wolfe, took a distinguished part in the expedition for the reduction of Quebec, which, after very hard fighting between that date and the 2nd of September following, lost no fewer than 179 of all ranks killed, and 633 wounded more or less severely. Of the killed 18 were Fraser Highlanders, and among 85 of the same corps wounded during that period were Colonel Simon himself, two Captains, one of whom was Captain Simon Fraser of Inverallochy and three Lieutenants. General Wolfe, in an order issued condemning an attack made by the Grenadiers prematurely against the orders given them, paid Colonel Fraser's men the compliment of saying that Amherst's, which was the 15th regiment, "and the Highlanders, by the soldier-like manner they were formed in, would undoubtedly have beaten the whole Canadian army, if they had ventured to attack them." After considerable delay, on the 12th of September, about one o'clock in the morning, four regiments of infantry,

along with the Fraser Highlanders and the Grenadiers, were embarked from Port Levi on flat-bottomed boats, under command of Brigadier-Generals Murray and Monckton. General Wolfe accompanied them in person, and was among the first to land on the Quebec side. The Light Infantry and the Highlanders were the first on shore, and they at once attacked and dislodged a Captain's guard which defended a narrow entrenched path by which the rest of the force could reach the top. The whole body then passed on to the summit, a feat which occupied considerable time, "as the precipices were so steep, that the soldiers were obliged to scramble up by the aid of the rugged projects of the rocks, and the branches of the trees and shrubs growing on the cliffs." They were now on the Heights of Abraham. The French Commander found that he had to leave his stronghold, and come out to fight them in the open field. The Highlanders formed part of the front line. The two armies met face to face. The two opposing Commanders, General Wolfe and the Marquis of Montcalm, were mortally wounded early in the battle and almost at the same moment, and their two seconds in command, Generals Monckton and Severergues, were soon afterwards carried from the field severely wounded. Brigadier Murray briskly advanced with the British troops, under his command, and broke the centre of the Canadian French, "when the Highlanders, taking to their broadswords, fell in among them with irresistible fury and drove them back with great slaughter."* The victory was complete, the French Canadians retreating to Quebec and Point Levi, and the town was at once surrendered. Of the 57 British of all ranks killed and 478 wounded, Fraser's Highlanders had four officers and 15 men killed—among whom were Captain Simon Fraser of Inverallochy—and 10 officers and 138 rank and file wounded. Among the latter were Lieutenant Alexander Fraser, senior, and Ensign Malcolm Fraser. The Frasers fully confirmed the character they had already acquired at Louisburg. A general officer

* General account of the battle.

writing of the campaign says that "the Highlanders seem particularly calculated for this country and species of warfare, requiring great personal exertion. Their patience, sober habits, and hardihood—their bravery, their agility, and their dress contribute to adapt them to this climate, and render them formidable."

The British forces occupied Quebec during the winter months under General Murray, the senior surviving officer, General Townshend having returned home. The season being a very severe one, and the troops having had to subsist mainly on salt meat, they were so reduced by disease and scurvy that by the month of April, only 3000 effective men remained. A large fresh French force again gathered round them, and it became necessary and it was determined to try the event of a battle. Accordingly, on the 28th of April this attenuated and sickly army was marched out by General Murray to the Heights of Abraham to measure swords with an army of 10,000 French and 500 Indians, on the scene of their former victory. Colonel Simon Fraser commanded on the left, which was formed of his own Highlanders, along with the 43rd and 47th regiments. A desperate engagement ensued, which was brilliantly fought by the British against almost overwhelming odds. The enemy at one time penetrated into two redoubts, "but were driven out from both by the Highlanders, sword in hand." The British had, however, ultimately to retire, but they had given the enemy such a thorough dressing that they were allowed to do so without pursuit and permitted to carry their wounded along with them. They, however, lost severely, 6 officers and 251 rank and file having been killed, and 82 officers and 679 non-commissioned officers and men wounded. Of the killed two officers and 55 privates and pipers belonged to the Fraser Highlanders. They had no fewer than 156 wounded, of whom 27 were officers and 129 non-commissioned officers and privates. Among them were Colonel Fraser himself, Captain Alexander Fraser of Culduthel, Lieutenants Alexander Fraser, senior, Alexander Fraser, junior, Simon Fraser, senior,

Alexander Fraser, Simon Fraser, junior, and Malcolm Fraser; and Ensign Malcolm Fraser. General Levi, who commanded the Canadians, although he did not attempt an immediate pursuit, moved forward the same evening and took up his position close to the town from which he at once opened fire, and took the necessary steps to form a regular siege, which was continued until the 10th of May, when it was suddenly raised, the enemy decamping and marching in the direction of Montreal. They were followed by General Murray, who, on his arrival there, now the only place of strength left to the Canadians, on the 6th of September, formed a junction with General Amherst and Colonel Haviland, and the French Commander, finding himself surrounded by three armies, opened a correspondence which resulted in his surrender to the British by whom he was now completely hemmed in.

A French armament having appeared in the summer of 1762 on the coast of Newfoundland, and having landed some troops and taken possession of St. John's, a small British force collected from New York and Halifax, was despatched to its relief under Colonel William Amherst, and two companies of Fraser Highlanders joined them. They had, however, very little fighting to do, for soon after their landing, the enemy, on the 17th of September, capitulated, "the prisoners being more numerous on this occasion than the victors."

These are some of the services rendered by Colonel Simon Fraser and his Highlanders in Canada from 1757 to 1762. The total loss of the regiment during the war was 14 officers and 109 rank and file killed, and 46 officers and 400 rank and file wounded—in all 569 officers and men.

On their return from Newfoundland to the mainland the several detachments of the army joined their respective regiments, and passed the winter in cantonments. The Fraser Highlanders were quartered alternately in Canada and Nova-Scotia until the conclusion of the war, where many of the officers and men—those who did not wish to return home—received grants of land, and settled in British North

America, and the others came back and were discharged in Scotland. Of those who made a choice of remaining in Canada, 300 afterwards, in 1775, enlisted in the 84th regiment and became the nucleus of the two fine battalions then formed under the designation of the Royal Highland Emigrants.

During Colonel Fraser's absence at the head of his regiment in British North America, he was chosen at the general election of 1761 member of Parliament for the county of Inverness, and he continued to be re-elected and represented that constituency in the House of Commons until his death in 1782. In 1762 he served, with the rank of Brigadier-General, in the British forces sent to Portugal to defend it against the Spanish invasion of that year.

In 1774 he was rewarded for his great and loyal services to the Crown in Canada and elsewhere with a free gift of the Lovat family estates, subject to the payment of certain debts, ten years before any of the other forfeited estates were restored to their former owners or their representatives. This was done "as a particular mark of grace" and to show the good will of his Sovereign; and he alone had the special gratification of getting this favour by a special Act of Parliament, a whole decade before the first General Act for the purpose of restoring certain other forfeited Highland estates was passed in 1784. Parliament passed this special Act (14th George III. cap. 22) to enable his Majesty to grant unto Major-General Simon Fraser the lands and estate of the late Simon Lord Lovat upon certain terms and conditions on the following narrative:—

"Whereas before the attainder of Simon, late Lord Lovat, his estate was settled [on his second son] by a deed of entail, which coming to be tried by the Court of Session in Scotland, the estate was determined to be forfeited by a majority of one voice, and that judgment was not appealed against: And whereas, in 1747, proof was brought before Parliament of the means used to involve Simon Fraser, eldest son of the said Simon, Lord Lovat, in the late unnatural rebellion, at a tender age; and the said Simon Fraser, ever since he was capable of acting for himself, hath testified his loyalty to his Majesty and the Royal family, and proved the sense he enter-

tained of the excellence of the happy constitution of this country by declining to engage in the service of a foreign State, though destitute of any establishment here ; and by dedicating himself to the service of his country at the beginning of the late war, upon which occasion he raised, in a very short time, a large body of men and commanded a regiment composed of them, with which he served meritoriously during the course of it, and was the first who offered to set that example, which in its consequence proved advantageous to the State by calling forth from a corner of the kingdom many thousand soldiers, whose efforts to demonstrate their zeal and attachment to his Majesty's Royal person and Government contributed to the glory and success of that war : And whereas the said Simon Fraser hath, in the course of his service, attained the rank of Major-General in his Majesty's army, and since the peace hath been employed, by his Majesty's command, in the service of a power whose alliance this country hath always deemed important."

It was by that Act declared lawful for the King to grant to the said Simon Fraser all the lands, lordships, baronies, patronages, and other rights and privileges forfeited by the attainder of his father, Simon Lord Lovat, subject to the payment by him of £20,983 sterling ; but

"Saving to all and every person and persons, bodies politic and corporate, his, her, and their heirs, successors, executors and administrators (other than and except the King's most excellent Majesty, his heirs and successors), all such estates, rights, titles, interests, claims, and demands of, into, and out of, the lands and premises to be granted as aforesaid, as they, every, or any of them had before the passing of this Act, or should or might have held or enjoyed, in case this Act had never been made."

Having thus secured possession of the ancient inheritance of the Frasers, General Simon by a deed dated the 16th of May and registered at Edinburgh the 18th of June and 28th of July, 1774, had all the lands and estates so restored to him settled, in default of the heirs male or *female* of his own body, upon his half-brother, the Hon. Archibald Campbell Fraser, and failing him and the heirs male of his body, on the following cadet families of Fraser and the heirs male of their body, in the order stated, namely—Inverallochy, Strichen, Struy, Culbokie, Farraline, Foyers, Reelick, Belladrum, Eskadale, Culduthel, Erchitt, Gortuleg, Achnagairn, Provost James Fraser (of the Achnagairn

family), Inverness, Balnain, Dunballoch, Fanellan, Daltulich, and Torbreck, whom all failing to his own nearest lawful heirs and assigns whatsoever.

This is a somewhat curious arrangement. The Frasers of Ardachy, who would succeed to the chiefship immediately after the family of Strichen, now in possession of the estates, was excluded from the entail altogether, and it was in terms of it quite possible to see the estates of Lovat some day in possession of a subordinate branch of the family and the real heir male and head of the house owning not an inch of the ancient inheritance of the Frasers. Indeed, if the present family of Lord Lovat were to die out in the male line, the heir male of Ardachy would become heir male of all the Frasers and chief of the clan, while if General Simon's entail stood the estates would pass to the heir male of Struy, and failing him, to Colonel William Fraser of Culbokie, late of Kilmuir, Skye, and then to Farraline, failing whom, to Foyers and Reelick, two illegitimate houses, but now extinct in the male line of those named in the entail, while several branches undoubtedly legitimate would be altogether excluded.

In 1775, General Fraser, now in full possession of the family estates, received letters of service for raising another regiment of two battalions among his countrymen. By the restoration of his property, to quote General Stewart of Garth again, he was now in possession of all the power which wealth and influence could command; but his present purpose had less relation to the influence of wealth than to the preservation of respect and attachment to his person and family. Relying on the latter alone when in poverty, and without the means to reward, his influence had experienced no diminution, for in a few weeks he found himself at the head of 1250 men. So much having been done in 1757 without the aid of property or estate, no difficulty was to be expected now that the case was the reverse. Nor did he find any; for with equal ease and expedition, two battalions of 2340 Highlanders were marched to Stirling, and thence to Glasgow, in April, 1776. Among

his officers were no fewer than six chiefs of clans besides himself. There were, however, very few Frasers among them. He was himself appointed Colonel of both battalions, but the only Fraser among the Majors and Captains, numbering eleven, was Simon Fraser, who died a Lieutenant-General in 1807. Among the nineteen Lieutenants there were only four—Hugh Fraser, Alexander Fraser, another Alexander Fraser, and Thomas Fraser, son of Leaclune. Of the eight Ensigns only one, Peter Fraser, belonged to the clan, and the surgeon was a William Fraser. In the second battalion, in the list of thirty-three officers above the rank of Ensign and below himself as Colonel, there were only three members of the clan—Lieutenants James Fraser, Thomas Fraser, and a second Thomas Fraser. In fact these three are all the officers of the name in the battalion, for there was not one Fraser among the other twelve subordinate officers.

It was found necessary to send the regiment to America at once, the requirements of the service being so urgent. There was thus no time for any drill or discipline before they went on board ship at Greenock, after a stay of a few days in Glasgow on their way. When the regiment was mustered it was discovered that more men had come up and joined than were required to complete it, and several were consequently left behind in Glasgow when the corps started on the march for Greenock. But many of the men ordered to be left behind were so anxious to accompany their friends and countrymen, that they parted with their officers in Glasgow, and following the regiment, found their way on board the transports in the dark, where they were not discovered until the fleet was a considerable distance out at sea.

Among the men who had joined and gone South were 120 raised among the tenantry on the forfeited estate of Charles Cameron, XXI. of Lochiel, in order to secure a company for their chief. He was at the time confined in London by an illness from which he died in the following year. His men were naturally disappointed that he did not meet them as they expected on their arrival in Glasgow, and

when the order for embarkation at Greenock arrived, and he being still absent, they loudly expressed their extreme sorrow. They said "they were Lochiel's men ; with him at their head they were ready to go to any part of the world ; they were certain some misfortune had happened or he would have been with them " ; and it took all the persuasive eloquence of General Fraser to explain the situation of Lochiel to their satisfaction, and to convince them that they could not more effectually serve him and show their attachment and duty to their chief than by embarking along with their comrades and countrymen. And this they consented to do with the more cheerfulness as Captain Charles Cameron of Fassifern, a leading and popular member of their own clan, afterwards killed at Savannah in 1779, was appointed to command them in the absence of their chief. When Lochiel heard of the conduct of his clansmen, though still unwell, he, forgetting the delicate state of his health, hurried down to Scotland, and the fatigue of the journey had such an effect upon him that he died a few weeks afterwards, universally respected and lamented.

It appears that General Fraser addressed the men in a rousing Gaelic speech. While speaking to them, an old Highlander who had accompanied his son to Glasgow was leaning on his staff, gazing at the General with intense earnestness. When his chief had finished his address the old man walked up to him, and "with that easy familiar intercourse which in those days subsisted between the Highlanders and their superiors," he shook him by the hand, exclaiming in Gaelic, "Simon, you are a good soldier, and speak like a man ; so long as you live Simon of Lovat will never die," alluding to the General's address and manner, which, it was said, much resembled that of his father, Lord Lovat, whom the older generation of Highlanders knew and remembered well even then, twenty-nine years after his death. Those who wish to follow the regiment through the American War of Independence, in the course of which it always took a distinguished part, until the men were taken prisoners at Yorktown, on the

8th of October, 1781, must be referred to General Stewart of Garth's excellent and full account of its services. On the conclusion of the war, they were released, ordered to Scotland, and disbanded at Perth in 1783.*

General Fraser was one of the gentlemen who originated the Highland Society of London, established in 1778. About this time he became much embarrassed by debt, and in 1779 he conveyed his estates to trustees to take effect after his death. All the rents were directed to be applied to the liquidation of his debts, with the exception of £500 a year, payable to his brother Archibald, the heir of entail, until the whole amount of his liabilities should be paid off, and providing that as soon as this was accomplished the trustees should denude in favour of the heirs of entail, who were to be held bound to possess under all the limitations and restrictions of that entail.

When on the 17th of June, 1782, James, Marquis of Graham, who, on the death of his father on the 23rd of September, 1790, succeeded as third Duke of Montrose, moved in the House of Commons to bring in a bill to repeal the Act of 19 George II., which prohibited the wearing of the Highland dress, his motion was seconded by General Fraser as member of Parliament for the county of Inverness. He made an excellent and patriotic speech on the occasion, which has fortunately been preserved† and which was afterwards translated into Gaelic, printed, and circulated among his friends. In the course of it he said that the object of the bill deeply concerned and interested the whole body of people of the very large and extensive county which he had the honour to represent, as well as the inhabitants of several neighbouring counties, "many of whom have bled so freely and so usefully to this Empire in the course of two successive wars, that they, of themselves, have construed their services a sufficient toleration, even under legal prohibition, for wearing a dress the best calculated in point of utility and frugality for the hilly

* *Sketches of the Highlanders*, vol. ii., pp. 43-80.

† *The Cambrian Magazine*, vol. v., p. 486.

situation they live in; and the fact is that for many years past, the dress is universally known to be worn. Their prayer therefore is, to be freed from all apprehension on this subject, and to be allowed legally to wear the striped parti-coloured woollen manufactures of their own country, cut in the fashion best suited to their fancy and predilection. Allow me," he continued, "to observe that the prohibitory law relative to their dress, if necessary at the time, was in effect most certainly a double tax of a very severe nature; being at one and the same time a preventive of their domestic manufacture and a compulsion to wear more expensive garments—garments most unfit indeed for that country, unless an Act could be made to level the hills!" He then informed the House that having lived in England for thirty years, he tried very recently to ascend the mountains of the North in the very dress he was then wearing, and "found it difficult in the extreme, or almost impracticable." The introduction of the bill was unanimously agreed to. On the 20th of June it passed through Committee of the Commons and was sent up to the Lords, who passed it by acclamation on the 25th of the same month, and on the 1st of July, 1782, it received the Royal assent and became law.

General Fraser married Catherine, second daughter of John Bristowe of Quidenham Hall, county Norfolk, Deputy Governor of the South Sea Company, without issue. He died in Downing Street, London, on the 8th of February, 1782, with the rank of Lieutenant-General in the British Army, and Colonel of the 71st Regiment of Foot, at the comparatively early age of 56, when he was succeeded as head of his house and in the family estates, subject to the provisions of the trust already mentioned, by his half-brother,

XX. THE HON. COLONEL ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL FRASER,

Who was born on the 16th of August, 1736. He was served heir to his brother, General Simon Fraser, on the

5th of August, 1782. Being in school at Petty when the battle of Culloden was at its height, and venturing "in the spirit of childish curiosity" nearer the scene of action than was consistent with prudence he narrowly escaped capture by the dragoons who scoured over the moor and its neighbourhood after the fatal fight was over. He is said to have devoted himself in early life to sport under the assumed but appropriate name of Fitz-Simon; and he was subsequently engaged in commerce. Anderson informs us that later on still, "when the celebrated Bruce arrived at Tripoli he found Mr Fraser acting as British Consul, and speaks in grateful terms of the attention he experienced at his hands. He was appointed Consul at Algiers in 1766, and we learn from General Fraser's deed of entail that he continued to act in that capacity in 1774." Others of his more public services before and after this date, will be found recorded on the curious monumental tablet which he raised to his own memory several years before his death in the Church of Kirkhill, the inscription on which is as follows:—

"This stone is erected to the memory of the Honourable A. C. Fraser, Lord of Beaufort, Abertarff, and Loveth, soldier,—Mac Shimi, 38, Nephew to John Duke of Argyle, Godson to Archibald Duke of Argyle.

A.D. MDCCLXIV.

While upon a diplomatic mission to the Mahomedan States of Africa, he, by order of his most sacred Majesty George III., affected a peace between these States, the Kingdom of Denmark, and the Republic of Venice. He procured indemnification from the Empire of Russia, for depredations committed on the British flag and during his ten years stay in those countries, he, by his King's permission, redeemed Spanish, Portugese, and Imperial subjects, at the expense to those countries of two millions sterling, while not a single Briton was sold or taken into slavery.

A.D. MDCCLXXXII.

He co-operated with James Duke of Montrose, in recovering to the Highlanders, the dress of their ancestors.

A.D. MDCCLXXXV.

He, at his own expense, and in person, surveyed the fisheries on the West Coast of Scotland and the Hebrides, and petitioned for a repeal of the duties on salt and coal. He encouraged the manufacture of coarse wool, hemp, and flax; he laboured to improve the soil; he

amended the breed of Highland oxen, and broke them in for harness. He meliorated the dairies, and by affording employment to a hardy race of men, returned from serving their country in the wars, he repressed emigration and preserved to his country their equally valuable services in peace.

A.D. MDCCXCII.

After quelling insurrection on the 10th of August, he planned the system of legally putting arms into the hands of men of property, and had, when the Empire was threatened with invasion, the satisfaction of seeing its adoption and efficacy.

“Born 16th August, 1736; died 8th December, 1815.”*

In 1782 Colonel Archibald Fraser was elected member of Parliament for the county of Inverness as his brother, General Simon's, successor. Until his death he was Colonel of the Inverness-shire local Militia, a position in which he took very considerable pride. Having outlived all his children, and having acquired the estate of Abertarff, an ancient possession of his family, he executed a disposition and deed of entail of his new acquisition, dated the 15th of August, 1808, in favour of his heirs and successors, and “to and in favour of the nearest legitimate male issue of my ancestor Hugh, Lord Fraser of Lovat; namely, Thomas Alexander Fraser of Strichen, being the nearest lawful heir-male of the deceased Alexander Fraser of Strichen, and his heirs-male; whom failing, to and in favour of the late Hugh Fraser of Struy and the heirs-male of his body; whom failing, to and in favour of the nearest lawful heir of the late William Fraser of Kilbokie and his heirs-male; whom failing, to and in favour of Simon Fraser, Esquire, of Faraline and his heirs-male; whom failing, to and in favour of the person who shall then be able to prove himself to be the chief of the Clan Fraser, by legitimate descent from Hugh, first Lord Lovat, and his heirs-male; all and whole the following parts and portions of the lands in Abertarff,” a full description of which follows in the deed.

Three years later, on the 20th of July, 1811, he disposed to Sir Ilay Campbell, the Hon. Henry Erskine, Advocate,

* The date of his death must, of course, have been filled in after that event.

and others in trust all the lands and heritages which then belonged to him or which should belong to him at his death, and one of the express provisions of the deed is, "9thly, to settle the estate of Abertarff and the whole unentailed property belonging to the granter, for the purposes of the trust, by proper conveyances, containing irritant and resolute clauses, upon the nearest legitimate male issue of my ancestor, Hugh, Lord Fraser of Lovat; namely, the nearest lawful heir-male of Alexander Fraser, late of Strichen, and his heirs-male."

On the 2nd of July, 1812, he executed another disposition and deed of entail of the unentailed lands of Abertarff, in favour of the illegitimate child of his eldest son, John Frederick Simon, who had died unmarried in 1803, on the narrative that, "Whereas I, some years ago, executed a disposition and deed of entail of my lands and estate of Abertarff, etc., and of certain other lands belonging to me, which bears date the day of 18* years; and whereas, by the said deed, there is full power and liberty reserved to me to alter the same; and being resolved to execute the said faculty in manner and to the extent underwritten, therefore I have nominated and appointed, as I do hereby nominate and appoint, Thomas Frederick Fraser, my grandson, presently residing with his tutor, Dr Bentley of the King's College, Aberdeen, and the heirs-male of his body, to succeed to my said lands and estate, immediately after myself and the heirs of my own body; whom failing, to the persons named as heirs and substitutes in the said deed of entail, in the order therein mentioned."

It is important to observe that in the deeds of 1808, 1811, and 1812, Colonel Archibald departs from the succession laid down by his brother, General Simon Fraser, in the entail of 1774, and distinctly provides that failing the heirs-male of the Strichen family, of Abertarff, and of all the legitimate heads of families mentioned, the unentailed lands should go to "the person who shall be then able to prove himself to be chief of the Clan Fraser, by legitimate

* These spaces are blank in the deed.

descent from Hugh, first Lord Lovat, and his heirs-male."

It will be remembered that in the special Act restoring the estates to General Fraser in 1774, all previous rights were reserved, "saving to all and every person" everything which they would have been entitled to had that Act never been passed, excepting the King, his heirs and successors. Whatever may be the case as regards the estates, it is quite certain that neither the Scottish peerage—restored with all its ancient rights and privileges by Act of Parliament, dated the 10th of July, 1857, to the late Thomas Alexander Fraser of Lovat—nor the chiefship of the clan can be diverted by any entail whatever. For instance. Supposing the estates in terms of General Fraser's entail had gone, as it might have done, to his own heir female or to any member either of the admittedly illegitimate branches of Foyers and Reelick, would any one maintain that the Peerage or the Chiefship of the clan would follow the family estates! In that case, even the question of the right of election to the chiefship could not come in. In such circumstances the election would be the sole act of a single individual who in this particular instance had been dead and buried for more than a hundred years, and in others it might be for centuries. Certain branches were named in the entail who were not of the Lovat family at all—such as Torbreck and Dunballoch—who broke off from the original southern Frasers long before the Peerage came into existence.

The Hon. Archibald Campbell Fraser executed no fewer than ten settlements altogether at different dates, but those of 1808, 1811, and 1812, already referred to appear to have been the only operative instruments. The deed of 1812 has, however, given rise to a long legal conflict between the late Archibald Thomas Frederick Fraser of Abertarff and Thomas Alexander Fraser, fourteenth Lord Lovat. But the questions in dispute are not of particular interest to any but the successors of the respective litigants.

In 1794, during the Hon. Archibald Fraser's rule at Beaufort it was decided to raise a Fraser Fencible Regiment

and letters of service were issued for that purpose to Colonel James Fraser of Belladrum in the latter end of that year. In the spring of 1795, the regiment was completed by the assistance of the chief and other leading gentlemen of the clan. On the 14th of June, the men were inspected and embodied at Inverness, no fewer than 300 of them bearing the name of Fraser, chiefly from the districts of the Aird and Stratherrick. The uniform was the usual Highland dress with belted plaid and kilt of Fraser tartan, but without the broadswords, as in the case of former Fraser Regiments. According to General Stewart of Garth, the regiment was marched South in July, and crossing over to Ireland, landed there on the 1st of August. In that country "the general character of the corps was excellent; they had a high degree of the *esprit de corps*; were obedient, active, and trusty; gaining the entire confidence of the generals commanding, by whom they were all stationed in the most disturbed districts, previous to and during the rebellion. Many attempts were made to corrupt them, but in vain; no man proved unfaithful. The men were not in general large, but active, well made, and remarkable for steady marching, never leaving any stragglers, even on the quickest and longest marches"—a character given them by an able and intelligent officer who personally knew them well.

In November, 1797, Colonel Fraser of Belladrum resigned the command of the regiment and John Simon Frederick Fraser, Younger of Lovat, was appointed Colonel in his place. Soon after, the disturbance in Ireland having assumed a more formidable appearance, the Government discovered that in the attempts to keep down the growing spirit of disaffection and disloyalty, some of the troops began to show similar symptoms. But full confidence was always felt and placed in the Fraser Fencibles. When the Frasers landed at Killala this regiment along with others was pushed forward, and in the subsequent encounter with the enemy at Castlebar they were the last to retreat. Musgrave, in his history of this Irish rebellion, gives an instance

of the intrepid performance of duty entrusted to "a Highland Fraser sentinel, whom his friends desired to retreat with them, but he heroically refused to quit his post, which was elevated, with some steps leading to it. He loaded and fired five times successively, and killed a Frenchman at every shot; but before he could charge a sixth time they rushed on him," and he adds the remark that, if all the soldiers at Castlebar had behaved with equal firmness the French invasion would have ended that day. The Fraser regiment remained in Ireland until the close of the war. In barracks, their conduct was uniformly good, and corporal punishments were equally unnecessary and unknown, and in this respect there was no going back until they were reduced in Glasgow in July, 1808.*

In 1797 an Act of Parliament was passed authorising the sale of the superiorities and certain other portions of the Lovat estates for the purpose of paying off what remained of General Fraser's debts. The superiorities sold amounted to £250 a year, and the lands to an annual rental of £350. And such of the entailed lands as were not sold were made liable in the payment of £400 a year to be applied in the creation of a sinking fund to form a capital sum to be applied under authority of the Court of Session in the purchase of other lands of equal value to be settled on the same series of heirs.

The trust executed by General Fraser in 1779, and already explained, was brought to an end by Act of Parliament in 1802, when the Hon. Archibald Campbell Fraser entered into full possession of the family estates in terms of the entail, and made up titles accordingly.

Anderson says that Colonel Fraser "possessed talents of no ordinary kind. To a knowledge of letters he added an intimate acquaintance with the world. He had spent a considerable portion of his life in the first circles, both at home and abroad, and many yet look back to him as the beau ideal of a gentleman of the old school. That eccentricities of character displayed themselves cannot be denied ;

* *Sketches of the Highlanders*, vol. ii., pp. 351-353.

but they will be forgotten in the remembrance of his varied qualities." It is, however, well known that he was very severe on some of his tenants.

He married, in 1763, Jane, daughter of William Fraser of the family of Leadclune, and sister of Sir William Fraser, F.R.S., created a Baronet on the 27th of November, 1806, with issue—

1. John Simon Frederick Fraser, who was trained for the Scottish Bar, and was the author of a well known work published in London in two volumes—"Reports of the Proceedings before Select Committees of the House of Commons, in cases of Controverted Elections, 8vo., 1791-1793." He was elected member of Parliament for the county of Inverness in 1796, and continued to represent the constituency until 1802. In 1797 he was appointed Colonel of the Fraser Fencibles, on the resignation of Colonel James Fraser of Belladrum in November of that year. He was not married, but left an illegitimate son, the late Archibald Thomas Frederick Fraser of Abertarff, to whom, and the heirs-male of his body, his grandfather, the Hon. Colonel Archibald Campbell Fraser of Lovat, left that estate by the deed of settlement already quoted, to which he succeeded on the death of his grandfather in 1815. Archibald Thomas Frederick Fraser of Abertarff, in January 1822, married Janetta Fraser, third daughter of Colonel Duncan Macpherson of Cluny, by his wife Catherine, third daughter of Sir Ewen Cameron, Baronet, of Fassifern, with issue—an only son who died in infancy, and a daughter Catherine who survives him, unmarried. He died in March 1884, when the Abertarff estate reverted to Lord Lovat in terms of a decision of the Court of Session dated the 14th of May, 1824, and after a long and costly litigation confirmed by the House of Lords, declaring that it was held, not in fee simple but under the conditions of an entail. Colonel John Simon Frederick died at Lisbon on the 6th of April, 1803, at the age of thirty-eight years, from the result of fatigues incurred by him while in command of the Fraser Fencibles during the Irish Rebellion.

2. Archibald, who was born in Edinburgh, and died unmarried in 1792.

3. Henry Emo, born in Algiers, and died on the 25th of August, 1782, young and unmarried.

4. George, who died in infancy, in 1781.

5. William Henry, who died, unmarried, on the 25th of February, 1801.

Colonel the Hon. Archibald Campbell Fraser of Lovat died on the 8th of December, 1815, the last male of his line, having outlived all his children (his widow died on the 3rd of September, 1819), when the estates reverted to his kinsman,

XXI. THOMAS ALEXANDER FRASER, TENTH OF STRICHEN, FOURTEENTH LORD LOVAT,

Grandfather of the present Peer, to whom (the male line of the Frasers of Inverallochy and Brea having become extinct) the succession of the House of Lovat opened up as heir-male of the family, as also in terms of General Fraser's settlement of 1774, and as heir of entail to the Hon. Archibald Campbell Fraser, to whom he was served heir of tailzie and provision on the 22nd of March, 1816. On the 3rd of November, 1823, he was served nearest and lawful heir-male of the body of Hugh, fifth Lord Fraser of Lovat, grandfather of Thomas Fraser of Knockie and Strichen; nearest and lawful heir-male of Hugh Lord Fraser of Lovat, grandnephew of Thomas Fraser of Beaufort, otherwise styled Thomas Lord Fraser of Lovat; and nearest and lawful heir-male of Thomas Fraser of Beaufort, otherwise styled Thomas Lord Fraser of Lovat, and grandfather of the Hon. Archibald Fraser of Lovat. He was for many years Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Inverness.

On the 28th of January, 1837, he was created a Peer of the United Kingdom; and on the 11th of August, 1857, the Scottish title, forfeited in 1747—for which he petitioned the Crown as far back as 1826, and which had been before the House of Lords during the whole of that long interval of 31 years—was finally restored to him. He also made a new entail of the estate,

Thomas, who was born in 1802, married, on the 6th of August, 1823, Charlotte Georgina Dorothea, eldest daughter of Sir George William Jerningham, Baronet, of Cossy Hall, county of Norfolk, who on the removal by Act of Parliament passed on the 14th of June, 1824, of the attainder of his ancestor, Lord Stafford, assumed the title of Baron Stafford. By this lady, who died on the 28th of May, 1876, Thomas Alexander Fraser of Lovat, had issue—

1. Simon, his heir and successor.
2. Alastair Edward, late Lieutenant-Colonel Scots Fusilier Guards. He was born on the 13th of January, 1831, and married on the 13th of January, 1858, Georgina Mary, only daughter of George F. Heneage of Hainton Hall, Lincolnshire, without issue. He served in the Crimean War in 1854, and was at the battles of Inkerman, Alma, Balaclava, and the Siege of Sebastopol and the sortie of the 26th of October, for which he received a medal and clasps. In May 1855, he was presented with the Crimean medal from the hands of Her Majesty the Queen, after which he returned to the scene of operations and remained there until the conclusion of the war. He died on the 20th of September, 1885.
3. George Edward Stafford, born on the 17th of February, 1834, and died at Edinburgh, on the 4th of May, 1854, unmarried.
4. Henry Thomas, late Lieutenant-Colonel Scots Fusilier Guards, born on the 2nd of December, 1838, now residing at Beaufort, unmarried.
5. Amelia Charlotte, who, on the 17th of September, 1846, married Charles Robert Scott Murray of Danesfield, Buckinghamshire, with issue—three sons and three daughters.
6. Frances Georgina, who, on the 9th of May, 1844, married Sir Pyers Mostyn, Baronet of Talacre, with issue—five sons and five daughters.
7. Charlotte Henrietta, who, on the 27th of November, 1866, married Sir Matthew Sausse, late Chief Justice of Bombay. He died on the 4th of November, 1867.

His Lordship died on the 28th of June, 1875, when he

was succeeded in the title and estates of Lovat by his eldest son,

XXII. SIMON FRASER, FIFTEENTH
LORD LOVAT,

Who was born on the 21st of December, 1828. He was Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Inverness from 1872 until his death and Lieutenant-Colonel Commanding the Inverness-shire Militia; a director of and latterly vice-chairman of the Highland Railway Company. He married on the 14th of November, 1866, Alice Mary, daughter of Thomas Blundell of Ince Blundell, Lancashire, with issue—

1. Simon Thomas Joseph, who was born on the 17th of August, 1867, and died on the 28th of September, 1868.

2. Simon Joseph, now Lord Lovat.

3. Hugh Joseph, born on the 6th of July, 1874.

4. Alastair Joseph, born on the 1st of August, 1877.

5. The Hon. Mary Laura.

6. The Hon. Alice Mary Charlotte, who, on the 30th of April, 1890, married the Hon. Bernard Constable Maxwell, born on the 3rd of April, 1848, third son of William Constable Maxwell, Lord Herries, and brother of the present Peer, with issue—Ian Joseph, born on the 15th of April, 1891; Ronald Tarligan Joseph, born on the 9th of July, 1892; and Gerald, born on the 8th of September, 1895.

7. The Hon. Ethel Mary.

8. The Hon. Margaret Mary Catherine.

9. The Hon. Muriel Rose Mary.

Lord Lovat died on 6th of September, 1887, when he was succeeded by his eldest surviving son,

XXIII. SIMON JOSEPH FRASER, SIXTEENTH
AND PRESENT LORD LOVAT,

Who was born on the 25th of November, 1871, and in 1893 joined the First Life Guards. He disentailed the estates after he came of age, in 1894, and they are now held in fee-simple, and at his Lordship's absolute disposal. He is still unmarried.

THE FRASERS OF INVERALLOCHY.

I. SIR SIMON FRASER, first of this family, was the second son of Simon, eighth Lord Lovat, and the eldest son of his second marriage to Jean Stewart, daughter of James Lord Doune, afterwards Earl of Moray. Lord Simon of Lovat was twice married, first to Catherine, eldest daughter of Colin Càrn Mackenzie, XI. of Kintail, with issue—Hugh, who succeeded him as ninth Lord, and Elizabeth, who married John Dunbar of Cumnock and Westfield, Sheriff of Moray. His Lordship married secondly Jean Stewart, daughter of James Lord Doune, with issue—(1) Sir Simon, the first of this family, and (2) Sir James Fraser of Brea, of whose family presently. He had also three daughters. On the 26th of July, 1616, Lord Simon received charters of the manor of Philorth, the lands of Carnbulg, Innernoth, and Inverallochy. On the 20th of December, the same year, the lands of Inverallochy were erected into a barony called the barony of Inverallochy, and were conveyed by his Lordship and Jean Stewart, his spouse, to Sir Simon, their eldest son, and his wife Jean Moncrieff; whom failing, to James Fraser, his Lordship's youngest son, whom failing, to Lord Simon's nearest and lawful male heirs whomsoever, bearing the arms and surname of Fraser, being Lords of Lovat. The Inverallochy charter is to "*Simoni Fraser, filio legitimo natu maximo prefati n^{ri} consanguinei Symonis Domini Fraser de Lovat inter ipsum et dictum Dominam Jeanem Stewart ipsius conjugem, legitimi procreat.*" It has been observed that in these two charters, relating to contracts of marriage, provisions are made for the sons of a second marriage, but no succession is allowed to the daughters, showing the care with which the heads of the House always transmitted the succession to the heirs male of the family.

It was already stated that Simon and his brother James accompanied their father to Edinburgh in the summer of

1616, when he went South to pay his respects to James VI. on his return to Scotland, where he held a Parliament that year in the Scottish Capital, of which Lord Simon was a member. The two boys, Simon and James, the one nineteen years old, and the other in his seventh year, were knighted by the King in the Palace of Holyrood.

Having returned to the North, Sir Simon married Jean, daughter of Sir William Moncrieff of Moncrieff, Baronet, and resided at Bunchrew House, which was given him as a residence by his father. He subsequently lived for about two years at Inverallochy, but afterwards returned to Inverness-shire. By his wife, Jean Moncrieff, Sir Simon had issue—an only son, Simon.

Sir Simon and his wife having, in 1620, accompanied his father and mother to Castle Stuart, in the parish of Petty, he became so ill at that place that it was found quite impossible to continue the journey to Lovat. He was therefore taken to Dalcross Castle, erected by his father the same year, where he was confined for several months, carefully attended to by a skilled physician and the members of his own family, but he died there universally lamented by all who knew him. It was intended to have buried him with his ancestors in the Priory of Beauly, but the River Ness became so swollen that it partly carried away the bridge, and it was found impossible to cross the immense multitude that attended the funeral over it with safety. Lord Lovat having obtained permission from the Cummings, Sir Simon was interred in their burying-place in St. Catherine's aisle, within the Rood Church, Inverness, where an elegant monument was erected to his memory, and where his mother, who did not long survive him, having died at Bunchrew, was at her own special request interred beside her son.

Sir Simon's widow married, secondly, Robert, son of Sir Thomas Burnett of Leys, in Aberdeenshire.

He was succeeded in his estates by his only son,

II. SIMON FRASER, second of Inverallochy, who was

served heir to his father on the 18th of February, 1635.* He married, with issue, an only son,

III. SIMON FRASER, who is served heir in special to his grandfather, Sir Simon, on the 3rd of May, 1659.† In June, 1669 (marriage contract dated 12th and 13th), he married Lady Marjory Erskine, second daughter of James, seventh Earl of Buchan, and sister of William the eighth Earl, last of the original line of the Earls of Buchan. In 1673 Simon sold Bunchrew to Forbes of Culloden, who also purchased from him the lands of Ferintosh, in the Black Isle, county of Ross. By his wife he had issue—

1. Alexander, who succeeded his father at Inverallochy.
2. William, who succeeded his brother Alexander.

He died before 1683, in which year, in the month of September, his widow married, secondly, Charles, fourth and last Lord Fraser of Castle Fraser, who, dying without issue in 1720, left his estate to his step-grandson, William Fraser, VI. of Inverallochy.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

IV. ALEXANDER FRASER, fourth of Inverallochy, who was served heir to his father in these lands on the 7th of October, 1696.‡ He is on record as being alive in January, 1697, but he is dead before the 23rd of November, 1698. He died without issue, and was succeeded by his only brother,

V. WILLIAM FRASER, fifth of Inverallochy, who was served heir in special to his brother Alexander on the 23rd of November, 1698. On the 1st of April, 1699, in an edict of curatory, he calls in Alexander Fraser of Strichen as one of his nearest of kin on the father's side and John, Earl of Mar, and Alexander, Lord Pitsligo, his nearest of kin on the mother's side. He married Lady Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander, third Earl of Kellie, with issue—

1. William, his heir and successor.
2. Charles, who succeeded his brother William.

* Ing. Ret. Lib., xiv., fo. 102.

† Ibid. Lib., xxv. fol. 187.

‡ Sheriff Court Records of Aberdeen.

3. A daughter, who married Alexander Fraser of Fraserfield, with issue.

He died before February, 1717, and was succeeded by his elder son,

VI. WILLIAM FRASER, sixth of Inverallochy. On the death of Charles, Lord Fraser of Muchal in 1720, without issue, that title became extinct, and his step-grandson, William Fraser of Inverallochy, "the head of a collateral branch" succeeded by his Lordship's will to the Castle Fraser estates. He died, without issue, at Millhill, Aberdeenshire, on the 12th of July, 1749,* and was succeeded by his only brother,

VII. CHARLES FRASER, seventh of Inverallochy, who was served heir to his brother William on the 30th of August, 1749. Like his father and ancestors before him he was a strong Jacobite. His mother, Lady Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander third Earl of Kellie, died at Inverallochy on the 11th of December, 1744.† Charles was on the most intimate and confidential terms with Lord Simon of the 'Forty-five, whom, failing issue of his own, he might not unreasonably hope to succeed in the honours and estates of Lovat. He and his second son William, his eldest son Charles being then dead, are the first named in General Simon Fraser's entail in 1774, outside his own family.

He married Anne, daughter of William Udney of Udney, by his wife Martha, daughter of Alexander, first Earl of Aberdeen, with issue—

1. Charles, born on the 23rd of May, 1725, and killed at Culloden, during the life of his father. When Lord Simon sent out his men under the Master of Lovat in 1745 to join Prince Charles, young Charles of Inverallochy was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the clan "in accordance with the ancient Highland practice and the policy of Lord Lovat, as being nearest in blood to the chiefship after the reigning family." Charles was wounded at Culloden on the 16th of April, 1746, and his brutal murder by order of the Duke of Cumberland is thus described—"Riding over the field

* *Scots Magazine.* † *Ibid.*

attended by some of his officers, immediately after the battle, the Duke observed a young wounded Highlander resting on his elbow and staring at the 'Butcher' and his friends as they passed along. Cumberland asked the wounded man to what party he belonged, when the youth at once defiantly replied, 'To the Prince.' The 'Butcher' instantly ordered Wolfe, one of his staff, 'to shoot me that Highland scoundrel who thus dares to look on us with so insolent a stare.' This officer, Major Wolfe, who afterwards died so gloriously on the Heights of Abraham, refused to execute the brutal order, saying that his commission was at the disposal of his Royal Highness, but that he would not consent to become his executioner. The Duke asked several other officers in succession to pistol the Highlander, but in every instance with a like result. He then commanded one of his common soldiers to empty the contents of his musket into Inverallochy's body, an order which was immediately obeyed." It is said that the Butcher Duke ever after frowned upon the heroic Wolfe for refusing to carry out his cowardly command to shoot the gentle but brave Highland youth in cold blood. He died unmarried.

2. William, who succeeded his father.

3. Simon, born on the 26th of May, 1732. He joined General Simon Fraser in 1757, when he raised the Fraser Highlanders, was appointed senior Captain, accompanied his relative to America, was mortally wounded on the Heights of Abraham, and died at Quebec on the 15th of October, 1759, unmarried. Thus, one brother, Charles, lost his life fighting against the Hanoverian dynasty at Culloden, while the other, Simon, was slain doing battle in defence of the same dynasty in the neighbourhood of Quebec, under the same distinguished officer who at Culloden refused to execute the inhuman order given him by Cumberland to imbrue his hands in the blood of Simon's eldest brother.

4. Martha, her brother William's co-heiress, who in 1747, married Colin Mackenzie, VI. of Kilcoy, with issue, of whom presently.

5. Eliza, also her brother's co-heiress. She died unmarried.

Charles died in 1787, when he was succeeded by his second and only surviving son,

VIII. WILLIAM FRASER, eighth of Inverallochy, served heir to his father on the 13th of February, 1789.* He also inherited the estates of Udney, through his mother, and assumed the name of Udney of Udney. Residing chiefly in England, he died unmarried in 1792, when the male line of the family of Inverallochy became extinct, whereupon, on the 6th of February, 1793, Martha Fraser or Mackenzie, widow of Colin Mackenzie, VI. of Kilcoy, and Eliza Fraser, daughter of the deceased Charles Fraser, VII. of Inverallochy, were served heir portioners in special to the late William Fraser of Inverallochy and Castle Fraser, thereafter William Udney of Udney, their brother german, in the barony of Inverallochy,† the estate of Udney reverting to the heir-male of that family.

Eliza Fraser died, unmarried, in 1814, leaving to her grand-nephew, Charles Mackenzie Fraser, the estate of Castle Fraser, which she inherited from her brother, William Fraser, VIII. of Inverallochy and Castle Fraser, who died unmarried in 1792.

We shall now follow the female succession of this family. As already stated, Colin Mackenzie, VI. of Kilcoy, married in 1747 (marriage contract 28th of March),

IX. MARTHA FRASER of Inverallochy, with issue—(1) Donald Mackenzie, who died young; (2) Charles Mackenzie, who succeeded his father in the estates as VII. of Kilcoy; (3) Colin, Lieutenant in the 71st Regiment or Fraser Highlanders, killed in the American Seven Years War, without issue; and (4)

X. ALEXANDER MACKENZIE-FRASER, who succeeded his mother on her death, in 1803, in her share of the Inverallochy estates, and assumed the additional name of Fraser by Royal License, dated the 22nd of July in that year, became the distinguished Lieutenant-General Alexander Mackenzie-Fraser of Inverallochy, Colonel of the 78th

* Sheriff Court Records of Aberdeen.

† Ibid.

Regiment, raised by Francis Humberston Mackenzie, Lord Seaforth, in 1793. He was member of Parliament for the county of Cromarty, 1802-1806; for Ross-shire, 1806-1807; and again, 1807 until his death at Walcheren on the 13th of September, 1809. He married in 1786, Helen, youngest daughter of Major William Mackenzie, son of Colonel Alexander Mackenzie of Assynt and Conansbay, son of Kenneth Mor, third Earl of Seaforth, and sister of Francis Humberston Mackenzie, Lord Seaforth, who died in 1815, the last male representative of his House. By her Lieutenant-General Mackenzie-Fraser had issue—

1. Charles Mackenzie-Fraser, his heir and successor.
2. Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick Alexander Mackenzie-Fraser, who married, first, Emma Sophia, daughter of Hume Macleod of Harris, with issue—(1) Frederick Charles, who married, with issue—three sons, and died in 1877; (2) Colin; and (3) Isabella, who died unmarried. He married secondly, Georgina Augusta, daughter of the Hon. Sir Charles Bagot, Governor-General of Canada. He was Assistant Quarter-Master-General and Deputy Quarter-Master-General in Canada in 1846, and died on the 24th of October, 1848.

3. Marianne, who died unmarried.
4. Helen, who also died unmarried.

Lieutenant-General Alexander Mackenzie-Fraser, on his death in 1809, was succeeded in the estates by his elder son,

XI. COLONEL CHARLES MACKENZIE-FRASER, eleventh of Inverallochy, and on the death of his aunt Eliza, in 1814, he succeeded also to her estates of Castle Fraser. He was a Captain in the Coldstream Guards, Colonel in the Ross-shire Militia, and served in the Peninsula with the 52nd Regiment in 1808-1809. He represented the county of Ross in Parliament from 1814 to 1818. Born on the 9th of June, 1792, he married on the 25th of April, 1817, Jane, fourth daughter of Sir John Hay, Baronet of Haystone and Smithfield, with issue—

1. Alexander Mackenzie-Fraser, who died, without issue, in 1843.

2. John Wingfield Mackenzie-Fraser, in the 60th Rifles, born on the 13th of June, 1825, and died, without issue, in 1846.

3. Charles Murray Mackenzie-Fraser, in the 82nd Regiment, born on the 8th of December, 1827, and died in 1846, unmarried.

4. Francis Mackenzie-Fraser, R.N., born on the 19th of June, 1827, and died unmarried in 1849.

5. Kenneth Mackenzie-Fraser, who died young, in 1836.

6. Frederick Mackenzie-Fraser, who succeeded his father in the family estates.

7. Catherine, who died unmarried in 1856.

8. Mary Elizabeth, who died unmarried in 1847.

9. Eleanor Jane, who on the 6th of January, 1855, married, as his second wife, the Right Rev. George Tomlinson, D.D., first Bishop of Gibraltar, with issue—(1) George Charles James Tomlinson, who was born on 16th of April, 1857; (2) Eleanor Fraser Tomlinson; and (3) Mary Elizabeth Tomlinson. Eleanor Jane died on the 22nd of October, 1858, and her husband, the Bishop, died on the 6th of February, 1863.

10. Grace Harriet Mackenzie-Fraser, who died unmarried.

11. Augusta Charlotte, who, on the 25th of April, 1854, married Robert Drummond, with issue—Charles, who in 1892, married Caroline, daughter of Colonel and Lady Theresa Boyle; Wingfield; Kenneth; and Sybil.

Colonel Charles Mackenzie-Fraser died on the 7th of March, 1871, when he was succeeded in the estates by his only surviving son,

XII. LIEUTENANT-COLONEL FREDERICK MACKENZIE-FRASER, now of Inverallochy and Castle Fraser, late of the 8th Light Infantry, and of the 3rd Battalion Seaforth Highlanders, Ross-shire Militia, Lieutenant-Colonel in her Majesty's Reserve Forces. Born on the 4th of April, 1831, he married, first, on the 24th of April, 1871, Lady Marie Augusta Gabrielle Berengeré Blanche Drummond, elder daughter of George, fourteenth Earl of Perth and Melfort, without issue. She died in 1874. He married, secondly, in

1879, Theodora Lovett, daughter of William Henry Darby of Leap Castle, King's County, Ireland, also without issue.

Sir Colin Mackenzie, Baronet, VIII. of Kilcoy, a descendant of Sir Simon Fraser of Inverallochy, the eldest son of Lady Marjory Erskine, daughter of James, seventh Earl of Buchan, claimed the honour and dignity of that Earldom and the Barony of Auchterhouse, on the ground that he was the nearest heir to the ancient feudal Earldom, and that he could not be excluded from his right by blood by any recognition of the Scottish Parliament of the title to Lord Cardross, which was evidently inept. But on strict examination of the Scottish Records it was discovered that Lady Marjory Fraser, who had been designated by all the peerage writers of the day as the eldest daughter of her father, was really the second daughter; an elder sister being Lady Margaret, who, as his second wife, married Douglas of Brighton in the county of Forfar; and in consequence of this discovery Sir Colin Mackenzie did not further continue his claim to the Earldom. It therefore follows that the remarks made on page 587 of the *History of the Mackenzies*, second edition, so far as the Kilcoy claim to these honours is concerned, but in that respect only, are inaccurate.

THE FRASERS OF BREA.

I. SIR JAMES FRASER, first of Brea, was the second son of Simon, eighth Lord Lovat, by his second wife, Jean Stewart, daughter of James, Lord Doune, and immediate younger brother of Sir Simon Fraser, first of Inverallochy. He was born in 1610, and was knighted by James VI., along with his brother Sir Simon, while on a visit to Edinburgh in the summer of 1616, when only six years old. He was liberally educated at home and abroad, became a very capable man of business, and was most ambitious—inordinately so, according to the family chroniclers. During the civil wars of his time he joined the Parliamentary party against the Royalists, and induced his clan to follow his example, his influence and authority proving of great advantage to the Covenanters.

In 1639, when the Marquis of Huntly, a keen opponent of the Covenanters, sent William Gordon of Knockespeck with provisions and ammunition, and a number of men, to garrison the Castle of Inverness for the King, Sir James, along with Thomas Fraser, Younger of Strichen, and others gathered together, intercepted Gordon, seized his arms and ammunition, fortified the Castle, and garrisoned it with bodies of the Frasers, Mackenzies, Munroes, and other Covenanting clans. When the Master of Lovat died in Edinburgh in May, 1643, Sir James, as "one of the Frasers of note" of his day, accompanied the leading men of his clan to the Scottish Capital to attend the funeral, which took place in the Chapel of Holyrood. He was made Governor of the Castle of Inverness, and successfully held it against all the efforts of Montrose to take it. He accompanied General Middleton when he pursued the Marquis

through the Lovat territories, Montrose killing many of the country people, pillaging and burning their houses and all they possessed. On this occasion Sir James entertained Middleton at Lovat, and afterwards conducted him across the Ferry of Beauuly, through the Black Isle, to the Chanonry of Ross, which at once surrendered to them. For fuller details of his life, see pp. 169-184. He sold, while in authority at the head of the clan, several of the Lovat lands, including the baronies of Kinmylies and Kingillie, the lands of Belladrum and Buntait. There are assignments and minutes signed between him and Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty in 1637, 1638, and 1639.

In the Valuation Roll for the counties of Inverness and Ross in 1644 Sir James Fraser of Brea is returned for lands in the parish of Inverness to the value of £133 6s 8d; in Kiltarlity £190; in Kilmorack £375; and in Cullicudden, county of Ross, £1573 6s 8d—a total of £2271 13s 4d, all Scots money.

Sir James married Beatrix, daughter of Wemyss of Fairkley, in Fife. In 1647 Dame Beatrix Wemyss, Lady Brea, discharges Alexander Fraser, servitor to the Tutor of Strichen, of the custom wedders of Moniack. By this lady he had issue—

1. James, his heir and successor.

2. David of Mayne. This David appears to have had a son—Simon. Of this latter the notorious Simon of Lovat writes in 1699 that as soon as King William had signed “this unlimited pardon” to himself, “Lord Lovat dispatched his cousin, Simon, son of David Fraser of Brea, express, in order to cause the Great Seal of Scotland to be affixed to it. But whether this cousin, who is an unnatural traitor, and a rascal worthy of the gallows, had at that time sold his chief for the money of Lord Atholl, as he repeatedly did afterwards, or the timidity of Lord Seafeld induced him to stop this pardon in its passage through the remaining forms, this much is certain, that the pardon executed in Holland was suppressed.”* It has been already seen that the pardon

* *Memoirs of his Life*, by himself, p. 105.

was not an unlimited one in its original form. In a letter to Brigadier-General Grant, dated the 8th of January, 1715, Lord Lovat speaks of him as "Simon, David of Brea's son," and as that "villain Simon who always sold his blood and honour for some pennies of money from Atholl and Prestonhall," and says that "that villain is unnatural and ungrateful to a strange pitch, for, after all his knavery in Scotland, I kept him from starving in France after his being made prisoner at Almanza."*

3. Jean, who married Major George Bateman, without issue, and with her received the lands of Dalcross as her marriage portion.

4. A daughter who married Hector Munro of Drummond, brother of Munro of Fowlis, with issue—a daughter, who married David Cuthbert of Drakies.

5. A daughter who married Mr Mackay.

6. Magdalen, who married George Cuthbert of Castlehill.

7. A daughter who married David Cuthbert, brother of George Cuthbert of Castlehill, without issue.

Sir James died at Lovat on the 6th of December, 1649, when entering upon his fortieth year, and was buried with great military honours, when he was succeeded by his elder son,

II. THE REV. JAMES FRASER, second of Brea, who was a great Covenanter, and suffered various persecutions and imprisonments for conscience's sake. He was born at Brea on the 29th of July, 1639, was well educated, possessed good talents, and became one of the leading Covenanting ministers of his time. His *Memoirs*, written by himself, have passed through at least seven editions, and they "present us with a simple but vivid sketch of a mind deeply imbued with vital piety and the force of truth." In the Rental of the Bishopric of Ross in 1695 appears this entry:—"Bray—The Laird of Bray pays for the lands of Cullicudden and Woodhead twixt money and price of customs, £141 14s 11d Scots"; as also "Pitkylen—The seven oxgate of Pitkylen, belonging some time to James

* *Chiefs of Grant*, vol. ii., p. 268.

Fraser, pays twixt money and price of customs, £35 13s Scots." Brea was in the parish of Kirkmichael, now Resolis, in the Black Isle, county of Ross.

The Rev. James in his earlier years intended to have studied for the Bar, but he departed from his intention, devoted himself to the more congenial study of Divinity, and was ultimately licensed by the Field Presbytery of Moray, a body composed of ejected ministers who had constituted a Presbytery for that district, about 1672. In August of the following year he was intercommuned, a process hitherto applied only to murderers and traitors. To quote his own words, he was "reproached, oppressed, and wronged, intercommuned, troubled with citations before courts on that account, wandering from place to place many times for fear of my life, imprisoned, fined, and banished, and threatened with death itself." He continued at liberty under this ban for several years, and was one of three for whose apprehension a considerable money reward was offered, simply because he continued to preach without the Bishop's authority. He was, however, treacherously apprehended in a friend's house in Edinburgh on the 28th of January, 1677, sent to prison for the night, brought before the Council next evening, sent back to jail, and the following morning to the Bass Rock, where he was kept prisoner from January, 1677, until July, 1679. He was brought before the Council again in 1681, and was sentenced to Blackness prison, to be confined there until he should pay a fine of 5000 merks, and give security not to preach any more, or banish himself out of Scotland. He was first confined for six weeks in the common jail of Edinburgh, from which he was sent to Blackness, where he remained for seven weeks longer, when, on the supplication of his brother-in-law and other friends, he was set at liberty on condition that he should leave the Kingdom. Having been allowed a month to set his private affairs in order he left for London in the end of May, 1682, arriving there on the 16th of June following.

On the 21st of July, 1683, he was again apprehended and

sentenced to six months' imprisonment in Newgate for refusing to take the Oxford oath, by which he was bound, among other things, to make no endeavour to bring about any change in Church or State. This was impossible for an honest Non-Conformist Presbyterian minister while Episcopacy, against which he had been fighting all his life, was rampant in Scotland. He ultimately found his way back to his native land, and was eventually admitted minister of Culross. He was subsequently appointed to Inverness, but died at Culross, in 1698, before his induction to the new charge.

The lands of Brea, which had been appraised from Sir James, the father, became the property of Hector Munro of Obsdale, who by disposition dated the 29th of March, 1671, conveyed them to James Fraser, "son and heir" to Sir James Fraser.

In the valuation roll of 1691 the Laird of Brea is returned for the lands of Mayne and Crives in Kiltarlity at £93 6s 8d, and for the lands of Dalcross and Kengie at £190.

The Rev. James Fraser, in July, 1672, married Miss Gray, with issue—

1. Jean, who, in 1698, married, as his second wife, Hugh Rose, fifteenth Baron of Kilravock, with surviving issue—one son, James Rose, who succeeded to the lands of Brea. He was Commissary of Inverness, and Sheriff-Substitute of the county of Nairn. He married Margaret, daughter of John Rose of Braidley. Jean Fraser of Brea died in 1699.*

2. A daughter who married the Rev. Mr Burnet, minister of Falkirk.

His wife died in October, 1676, and, as already stated, he died before April, 1698, without male issue, when the estates of the family went, in terms of the marriage contract, to James Rose, the husband of his elder daughter.

This is conclusively proved by a summons of exhibition, dated and signed on the 28th and 29th of September, 1726, at the instance of "James Rose, only child in life procreat betwixt Hugh Rose of Kilravock and Mrs Jean Fraser,

**Kilravock Papers*, p. 382.

eldest lawful daughter of Mr James Fraser of Brea." The summons sets forth that by contract of marriage between the said James' father and mother the said Hugh Rose, in consideration of the tocher carried t^o him by his wife, Jean Fraser of Brea, obliged himself (should there be only one son existing of the said marriage who should attain the age of 21 years complete) to make payment to such son of the sum of twenty thousand merks Scots, and also to assign to him all lands, tenements, and other subjects to be acquired by him by conquest during the marriage. The pursuer being the "only son" and "child of the marriage" then in life, and having attained to the age of 28 years, concludes against his father, Hugh Rose, for the payment of the twenty thousand merks, and for conveyance to him of the lands of Brea, Craighouse, Cullicudden, Crochiels, and others, conquest acquired by the said Hugh Rose of Kilravock from the said James Fraser of Brea. From this it is clear that the direct male heirs of the Rev. James Fraser were extinct, James Rose, in right of his mother, having succeeded to his estates. And this is further confirmed by the fact that in an edict of curatory, dated the 1st of April, 1698, the year in which the Rev. James Fraser of Brea died, William Fraser of Inverallochy, calls in Lord Fraser of Muchal and Alexander Fraser of Strichen as two of *his nearest of kin on the father's side*;* which he probably would not have done had any male descendants of Sir James Fraser of Brea been known at the time to be in life, for they would have been nearer of kin had any existed than either the family of Muchal or Strichen. It would have been noticed at pp. 496-497, 503-504 that in the entail by General Simon Fraser in 1774, and particularly in the settlements made by the Hon. Archibald Campbell Fraser in 1808, 1811, and 1812, the descendants of Sir James Fraser of Brea are not mentioned, which in all probability would not have been the case had any male representative of that branch been then known to exist; for they would naturally be called in before the more remote branches of Strichen,

* *Records of the Sheriff Court of Aberdeen.*

Struy, Belladrum, and Farraline, since the expressly avowed objects of Archibald's settlements were to preserve the succession to the estates along with the title in the direct male line, by substituting the heirs according to their propinquity to the main stem. But one cannot forget the fact that Ardachy was passed over in these entails, though coming immediately after Strichen in propinquity! And it is clear that David, the second son of the Rev. James Fraser of Brea, had a son, Simon, who, according to Lord Simon, was alive in 1715, and who, so far as known, has never been accounted for, beyond the statement in the Wardlaw manuscript that "Brea is away from Sir James' heirs, and therewith his memory, having no issue male to represent him." But at that date, and much later, it is known that he had male issue and that his grandson, Simon, was living in 1715, and probably much later.

THE FRASERS OF STRICHEN.

I. THOMAS FRASER, first of Knockie and then Strichen, second son of Alexander, seventh Lord Lovat, was the progenitor of this family, whose male representative became heir male of the Frasers of Lovat on the death of the Hon. Archibald Fraser on the 8th of December, 1815, and had the Scottish honours of the family restored to him in 1857. Alexander, the seventh Lord, married Jane, daughter of Sir John Campbell of Calder, with issue—(1) Hugh, who succeeded to the title and estates in 1568, and (2) Thomas of Knockie, the ancestor of this family, who is referred to in the original charter of Meikle Ballythayrnack and Knockie, granted by his father, Alexander the seventh Lord, as “fili nostro Thomas Fraser; et heredibus suis masculis de corpore suo legit. procreandis; quibus forte deficient. Jacobo Fraser filio nostro Juniori et heredibus suis masculis de corpore suo legit. procreand.” This charter is dated the 24th of September, 1557. Thomas of Knockie became tutor-at-law to Simon, ninth Lord Lovat, on the death of Lord Hugh on the 1st of January, 1576-77. He is described in the Scots Acts of 1560 as *Sir* Thomas Fraser, and as Tutor of Lovat, as also in the Records of the Court of Justiciary for 1576. The dispute between him and William Fraser of Struy regarding the Tutorship, the manner in which it was settled, and how the duties of the office had been performed, have already been described at length (pp. 121-133), and his conduct in that responsible position was such that for generations afterwards he was spoken as *par excellence*, “the Good Tutor of Lovat.” He is retoured as Tutor-in-law on the 18th of March, 1576-77, and on the 22nd of the same month, John Earl of Argyll, became surety that he would administer the office to the benefit of his ward,

Simon, son and heir of Hugh Lord Lovat. Thomas is repeatedly on record during his Tutorship. On the 26th of April, 1585, is registered at the instance of Simon Lord Fraser of Lovat and others, his curators, a contract entered into at Beauly in November, 1575, between Hugh Lord Fraser of Lovat, his father, regarding certain feu-duties which Knockie had to pay from the lands of Farnlye and Urquhane. Another contract dated the 22nd of May, 1585, between Thomas Fraser of Knockie, Tutor of Lovat, and a certain Henry Lindsay, is still preserved in the family charter chest. In 1598 the same Thomas and John Grant of Grant were curators for the Laird of Calder.

The following interesting account is given of the manner in which Thomas Fraser, until then of Knockie in Stratherrick, acquired the estate of Strichen in Aberdeenshire, a property which comprehends the whole parish of Strichen and parts of the adjoining parishes of Fraserburgh and Old Deer. It contains several fine plantations, and around Strichen are a great number of very fine old trees. Thomas was actively engaged in the performance of his duties as Tutor of Lovat when the widow of Thomas Fraser, a son of Alexander Fraser of Philorth, asked for his assistance against certain members of the Gordon family. The widow was a lady named Isabel, the daughter of Forbes of Corfurdie, who had been previously married to William Chalmers, then in the nominal possession of the lands of Strichen. This William's elder brother, George Chalmers, had long been abroad, and there was no hope of his returning; in fact William died in possession of the estate, and some time afterwards the widow married as her second husband Thomas Fraser, son of Alexander Fraser of Philorth, and assumed the designation of "Strichen." But certain members of the Chalmers family, naturally unwilling to see their inheritance going away from them to a stranger, and after several more or less friendly conferences had been held without any satisfactory settlement being arrived at, they threatened to dispossess Fraser by force. The Chalmers appealed to Gordon of Gight to come to their

assistance. He and Thomas Fraser met at Old Deer with the view of arranging some compromise, but no agreement was arrived at, each treating the proposals of the other with stern resistance, if not contempt. They then parted, but Gordon in a rage followed Fraser unobserved, and coming close up behind him at the Bridge of Dee laid him low and slew him with one blow from his sword. Isabel Forbes, now a widow for the second time, to avenge her cause and the death of her husband, detailed her woes to another Thomas Fraser—the Tutor of Lovat—who listened to her story, used all his interest and influence in her behalf, and in spite of the strong opposition of the Earl of Huntly, the powerful head of the house of Gordon, he succeeded in getting Gight, his Lordship's near kinsman, condemned and imprisoned, but he ultimately agreed to his release on his payment to the widow of 5000 merks “as an assythement” for the murder of her husband. Gordon was afterwards slain at the battle of Glenlivet.

It was now Fraser of Knockie's turn to play the suitor; the widow in gratitude for the valuable services which he had been able to render her agreed to marry him, and the ceremony was duly carried out. In order to prevent future disputes Knockie purchased the claims of the Chalmers family on his wife's estate, and then proceeded to arrange matters with the two daughters of her second husband, Thomas Fraser; for she does not appear to have had any children by William Chalmers. The first Thomas Fraser was killed by Gordon of Gight on the 24th of December, 1576, as appears from the original retour to his daughters, dated the 1st of September, 1589, and preserved in the Strichen charter chest. The widow enjoyed the life rent, the fee being left to the children of the marriage, as appears by a Crown charter, dated the 8th of October, 1573, on which sasine passed on the 5th of November in the same year.* A gift of the ward, marriage, relief, and non-entry of the lawful heirs of Thomas Fraser, the second husband,

* The charter is recorded in the Register of the Great Seal, Lib. XXXIV., and the sasine is in the family charter chest.

is made by the King to Alexander Hay, Clerk-Registrar, who assigns the same "with haill effects thereof" to Alexander Fraser of Philorth on the 13th of February, 1578.

In order to carry out effectually the arrangements he had in view Thomas Fraser of Knockie, after having married their mother as her third husband, entered into a contract with Catherine and Violet Fraser, the heirs of his wife's second marriage on the one part, and Alexander Fraser of Philorth, the donator to the ward, marriage, non-entry, and relief, of the two ladies, on the other part, on the following narrative—"For so much that the said Catherine and Violet are now in perfect years to be married and they cannot goodly be provided according to their ranks in honourable marriages by reason the said Isabel Forbes, their mother, is life-rentrix of their whole lands and of young years, so that rests little or nothing wherewith they may be publicly tochered, except the expectation of their lands after the decease of their said mother," they therefore became bound, with the consent of Alexander Fraser of Philorth, to be served heirs to their deceased father in the lands of Strichen and immediately to divest themselves of the same in favour of their father-in-law, Thomas Fraser of Knockie, "and his heirs-male lawfully begotten between him and the said Isabel Forbes, their mother, whom failing to his heirs and assignees whomsoever"; and in respect Violet was a minor she was to choose curators, and have her engagements approved of. In consideration of these stipulations Alexander Fraser of Philorth was to be paid 12,000 merks for the transference of his rights; Catharine accepted the sum of 5000 merks Scots "for tochering and providing of her an honourable marriage," and Violet Fraser, the sum of 3500 merks for "advancement of her to the like marriage and life; and the said Thomas and Isabel oblige them and their foresaids to honourably sustain in meat and clothes the said Catharine and Violet until their lawful marriages." The contract is dated the 8th of August, 1589, and a decree of the Sheriff Court of Aberdeen, dated the 23rd of the same month, declares that the selling of the lands of Strichen by

the young ladies to their father-in-law was a profitable transaction to them. It is registered at Edinburgh in June, 1615.

In order to complete the transaction fully, the two girls were served heirs to their father on the 1st of September, 1589, and infest in the lands, and by a charter dated the 10th of the same month, they, with consent of Violet's curators, for ever dispoine to "Thomas Fraser of Knockie" the whole lands and barony of Strichen. He was infest accordingly on the 13th, and thereafter assumed the designation of "Fraser of Knockie and Baron of Strichen," or Fraser of Knockie and Strichen. He subsequently obtained a ratification from Violet and her curators of her conveyance to him and got both the sisters to concur in a resignation of the estate in his favour, whereupon he expedite a Crown charter of the same to himself, and was infest in the whole barony of Strichen on the 8th of December, 1591. But still apprehensive of danger, and determined to make his title as complete as it was possible to make it, he demanded a judicial ratification from the two sisters after both of them attained majority, ratified by a decree of their ages. This was acquiesced in and his right to the estate of Strichen was incontestably acknowledged by a deed under Violet Fraser's own hand in December, 1593.

In 1592 Catherine Fraser married William Forbes of Corsinday, with the consent of her mother, father-in-law, and other friends. In 1593 her sister Violet married James Sutherland of Duffus, marriage contract dated the 6th and 9th of December in that year.

Alexander Fraser of Philorth discharges Thomas Fraser of Knockie of £200 Scots in full payment of his assignation to the ward and relief of Catherine and Violet, on the 16th of August, 1590. On the 30th of May, 1592, Violet Fraser discharges Knockie from a part of her tocher and in the receipt for the same he is designated "ane honourable man, Thomas Fraser, now of Strichen, her father-in-law," and on the 10th of May, 1594, he is granted a full discharge for the whole, 3500 merks, by Violet and her husband, James Sutherland of Duffus,

In March 1595, William Forbes of Corsinday and Catharine Fraser, his wife, discharge Thomas Fraser of Knockie of 5000 merks, being the whole amount of the tocher which he had agreed to pay to her, in exchange for her rights in the lands of Strichen. The same year he is named as one of the arbiters in a deed of submission between Simon, eighth Lord Lovat and John Grant of Freuchie, dated the 13th of September.*

Thomas has the following charters and writs among many others. One of the lands of Urchany and Fairlie from Hugh Lord Lovat in favour of his brother Thomas Fraser of Knockie, dated the 5th of November, 1575, and the gift from the same of the ward and non-entry duties of Strathglass and others on the 16th of February, 1576; a tack by the Vicar of Bonacht, or Bona, of the teinds in 1580; and by the Vicar of Abertarff of his teinds on the 31st of March in the same year. He has a charter of Kinmylies from Simon, eighth Lord Lovat, to himself and his spouse in which they were both infeft on the 15th of May, 1588; and by a deed dated 1590-91 the same Lord Simon exempts his uncle Thomas Fraser and his tenants from his Lordship's jurisdiction in Inverness-shire. On the 27th of November, 1588, he has a charter by Lord Simon of the lands of Ballichernoch, and another dated the 26th of February to himself and Isabel Forbes, his spouse, of Ballichernoch, Urchany, Knockie, and Fairlie. In 1606 he executed a document entitled, "Thomas Fraser of Strichen, his advice and counsel to Thomas Fraser, his son, to be prosecuted by him in caise it pleis God that he happen to be the longest levar."† His wife, Isabel Forbes, died on the 30th of November, 1611, and was buried at Beaulieu. By her he had issue—

1. Thomas, his heir and successor.
2. Jean, who married Sir James Stuart of Newton. She is referred to in an instrument of resignation of

* *Chiefs of Grant*, vol. iii., p. 195.

† All the charters and writs referred to in the text were preserved in the Strichen charter chest.

Ballichernoch, Knockie, Dallachcappil, Urchany, and Fairlie by Jean Fraser and her husband, Sir James Stuart, knight, in favour of Thomas Fraser of Knockie and Strichen, her father, dated the 3rd of May, 1606; and again in a charter of the same lands by Simon Lord Lovat, the Quequidem of which narrates that the lands formerly belonged to Jean Fraser, eldest daughter of Thomas Fraser and Isabel Forbes his spouse, and wife of James Stuart of Newton, knight.

3. Magdalen, who, in June 1603, married Hugh Rose, XII. of Kilravock, with issue—an only son, Hugh, who carried on the succession, and a daughter, who died young. “Th : Magdalen Fraser was a good, religious, and virtuous woman. She was one that, with good countenance, and great discretion, did entertain comers to the family, whereto in her time there was a great resort.”* She is mentioned in a charter of the two part lands of Saithly by Thomas Fraser of Knockie and Isabel Forbes, dated the 24th of October, 1593, in favour of Magdalen Fraser, their second daughter.

Thomas Fraser of Knockie and Strichen died at Inverness on the 2nd of October, 1612, in the 67th year of his age, when he was succeeded by his only son,

II. THOMAS FRASER, second of Strichen, in which he was served heir to his father on the 31st of October, 1612, infest on a precept from Chancery on the 10th of November, and had a precept of clare constat from Simon Lord Lovat as heir to his father in the lands of Ballichernoch, Knockie, and others, on the 10th of December, all in the same year.

On the 22nd of February, 1614, Thomas Fraser of Strichen, son and heir of the umquhile Thomas Fraser of Knockie and Strichen, inhibits Catherine Fraser and her husband, William Forbes of Corsinday.

By contract of marriage, dated June, 1606, during the life of his father, Thomas Fraser, son and apparent heir of Thomas Fraser, first of Strichen and Isabel Forbes, is to take to wife Christian Forbes of Tolquhoun, and to solemnise the marriage before the 1st of August immediately thereafter.

* *Kilravock Papers*, p. 89.

The lady's dowry is fixed at 8000 merks Scots, to be paid by her father to the father of young Fraser, within the Parish Kirk of Elgin by equal halves, on the 9th of November, 1606, and on the 22nd of May, 1607. The parents of bride and bridegroom are principals to the contract, and Thomas Fraser, the father, becomes bound to infest the young couple in the fee of the estate of Strichen, reserving the life-rent to himself and his wife. He also agrees to let to his son and his intended bride the lands of Moniack in the lordship of Lovat and the lands of Knockie in the parish of Abertarff and Sheriffdom of Inverness, for the payment of one penny Scots per annum.

On the 17th of October, 1616, Simon Lord Lovat grants him a tack of the lands of Wester Moniack, on which infestment follows on the 23rd of October in the same year. He has a Crown charter, on his own resignation, dated the 10th of March, 1618, destining the barony of Strichen to himself and his heirs-male, with the burden of a life-rent to Christian Forbes, his wife, and sasine follows thereon on the 6th of June the same year. In 1620 Simon Lord Lovat mortgaged Kinmylies, Fanellan, and Kingillie, to Thomas Fraser of Strichen. He has another charter to himself and his wife, dated the 11th of July, 1622, "*dimidiat villæ et terrarum de Easter Moniack*," in Inverness-shire; and one dated the 24th of June, 1624, "*dimidiat terrarum de Moniack cum jure patronatus Ecclesiarum de Inverness at Bonachie*." In the previous year, 1623, Lord Spynie, patron of Bona, disposed his right thereto to Thomas Fraser of Strichen, who as vice-patron thereof presented to that living in 1640 the Rev. John Annand, before it was united to the parish of Inverness by Decree of Plat.

In 1632, he was by Royal Commission appointed Sheriff of Inverness, an office which he held, with the exception of one or two years of an interval, down to 1643. At this period the office of Sheriff appears to have been held during the King's pleasure, for it is found that when held for several years in succession, as in the present case, the appointment was made annually by the regular renewal

of his Majesty's commission. Thomas is mentioned in an Obligation by Mary Grant and Dame Mary Ogilvy, dated the 13th of June, 1643.

The lands and Castle of Wester Moniack, at one time their seat, were subsequently for a long time the property of the Frasers of Strichen, and until a comparatively late period, when they were sold to Lord Simon of the 'Forty-five. This Thomas resided mostly at Kinmylies, near Inverness.

Thomas Fraser married first, in terms of the contract already quoted, Christian, eldest daughter of William Forbes of Tolquhoun, with issue—

1. Thomas, his heir and successor.

2. Hugh, who is referred to in a contract, dated 1640, between the Laird of Strichen and his son Hugh anent the discharge of his life-rent of the lands of Tyrie and Forrest, and in an Obligation dated the 7th of September, 1643, by Hugh Fraser of Easter Tyrie, second son of Thomas Fraser of Strichen, to his father, relative to the Moss of Menzie.

He married, secondly, Margaret Macleod, widow of Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Coigach, Tutor of Kintail. The contract of marriage is dated the 4th of August, 1628, and the day after he granted her in life-rent the lands of Little Ballichernoch and Terrichernican. Having had no issue by his second wife, he died, according to the date named in the service of his grandson, in March 1645, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

III. THOMAS FRASER, third of Strichen. On the 4th of November, 1628, during the life of his father, a contract was concluded between Thomas Fraser, elder of Strichen, as taking burden upon him for Thomas Fraser, his eldest lawful son and apparent heir, and by the son for himself, on the one part, and Alexander Forbes of Pitsligo, taking burden upon him for his sister Christian Forbes, and by the said Christian herself, on the other part, in terms of which in view of a marriage between the elder Strichen's son Thomas and Pitsligo's sister Christian, and of her tocher of 14,400 merks Scots to be paid by Pitsligo, Thomas

Fraser the elder, dispones in favour of the young couple and the heirs-male of their body, all the lands and barony of Strichen ; and for their better accommodation he further "binds himself, with all convenient diligence to build or cause to be built upon the Mains of Kindrochit, where the same shall be found most commodious, a sufficient house of stone and lime, with hall and chambers for their present easement, to be thatched for the present with divots, but shall be obliged to cause slate the same within three years." On the 5th of November, that is on the following day, Thomas Fraser, heir apparent of Thomas Fraser of Strichen, and Christian Forbes, daughter of the deceased John Forbes of Pitsligo, "his future spouse," were infest in the lands and barony in fulfilment of the contract of marriage entered into on the previous day.* On the 17th of February, 1632, he received a charter of feu-farm as Thomas Fraser, Younger of Strichen, from Simon Lord Lovat of the lands of Moniack, and on the same date he has a tack from his Lordship of the teind sheaves of Wester Moniack.†

In the charter chest of Strichen there are several discharges by Alexander Fraser, Tutor of Lovat, from 1646 until his death in 1670 in favour of the family of Strichen for the tack and feu duties of Killin, Moniack, and other lands in the county of Inverness. In fact, in the Valuation Roll of the Sheriffdom of Inverness in 1644, the following entries are found against Thomas Fraser of Strichen:—For lands in Boleskine and Abertarff, a rental of £500 16s 8d ; in Wardlaw, £425 ; in Dunlichity, £193 6s 8d ; and in Kilmorack, £300.

He took part, along with Sir James Fraser of Brea, during the life of his father, in intercepting the reinforcement which the Marquis of Huntly was sending to the Castle of Inverness in February, 1639, against the Covenanters, when they seized William Gordon of Knockespeck, the leader of Huntly's party, relieved him of his arms and ammunition, with which they fortified the Castle, and

* Particular Register of Sasines of Aberdeenshire, vol. vi., p. 304.

† Strichen Charter Chest.

garrisoned it with bodies of the Frasers and other Covenanting clans, as related under the family of Lovat at p. 168.

Thomas, as already stated, married Christian, daughter of John Forbes of Pitsligo, with issue—

1. Thomas, his heir and successor.

2. Christian, who married Alexander Burnett of Craigmill—marriage contract dated the 5th of June, 1649, along with papers relating to her marriage portion.

He died in 1656, and was succeeded by his only son,

IV. THOMAS FRASER, fourth of Strichen, who, on the 15th of January, 1657, expedes a special service as heir of his grandfather in the lands of Strichen and Ballachraggan, the half of Easter Moniack, the patronage of the Church of Bona, the lands of Ballichernocho, Dalachapale, and Knockie, in the shire of Inverness; the half of the lands of Easter Moniack “being holden immediately of his Highness, the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth”—Oliver Cromwell.

He was infest in the lands and barony of Strichen on the 14th of May in the same year, in virtue of a precept from Chancery in name of “Oliver, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland.” On the 7th of August, 1672, he executed a procuratory of resignation for new infestment of the same lands in favour of himself in life-rent and of Alexander Fraser, his eldest lawful son and his heirs-male, in fee, as also for new infestment of the lands of Kindrochit, a part of Strichen, in favour of his wife, Marion Irvine, during her lifetime. On the 19th of November, 1676, a Crown charter followed on this resignation.

He married Marion, daughter of Robert Irvine of Federat (marriage contract dated 1656), with issue—

1. Alexander, his heir and successor, and other children.

He died in 1687, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

V. ALEXANDER FRASER, fifth of Strichen. He was, on the 30th of March, 1677, infest along with his father and mother, each of them for their respective rights, on the precept in the Crown charter of the 19th of November,

1676, referred to under the last head. He also, on the 16th of January, 1688, as heir of his late father, received a precept of clare constat from the Earl of Mar of the two parts of Saithly, and was infeft in the same on the 16th of May thereafter. This is the Alexander Fraser of Strichen whom William Fraser, V. of Inverallochy, on the 1st of April, 1699, calls in an edict of curatory one of his nearest of kin on the father's side, although he seems to have been four or five times removed.

He married, first, a daughter of Cockburn of Ormiston, without issue; and secondly, the Hon. Emilia Stewart, second daughter of James Lord Doune, eldest son and apparent heir of Alexander, sixth Earl of Moray (marriage contract July, 1697), with issue —

1. James, his heir and successor.
2. Alexander, who succeeded his brother James.
3. Thomas, of whom nothing is known.
4. Marion, who married James Craig, advocate, Professor of Civil Law in the Edinburgh University (marriage contract dated 26th of March, 1715.)

His widow married secondly, John, sixteenth Earl of Crawford.

Alexander died in 1702, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

VI. JAMES FRASER, sixth of Strichen, who was served heir to his father as his eldest son by Lady Emilia Stewart on the 16th of April, 1702. He died unmarried before 1725, and was succeeded by his next brother,

VII. ALEXANDER FRASER, seventh of Strichen, who was served heir general to his brother James on the 14th of August, 1725. He studied for the Bar, and became an able advocate. On the 5th of June, 1730, he was appointed a Lord of Session, and in 1736 a Lord of Justiciary. He also held, according to Chambers' *Traditions of Edinburgh*, the office of General of the Scottish Mint. He was infeft in the barony of Strichen on the 4th of May, 1732, on a Crown charter dated the 12th of February in the same year, and on the 5th of February, 1759, he executed a

disposition of these lands and others in favour of himself in life-rent and of Alexander Fraser, "his only son," by the now deceased Ann Countess of Bute his spouse, in fee.

Lord Strichen occupied a seat on the Scottish Bench for the extraordinary long period of forty-five years, and at the time of the great Douglas cause in 1768, he was then by twenty-four years of longer standing than any of his colleagues. He is said to have been one of the judges who sat in the famous case of Effie Deans as far back as 1736. On his appointment as Lord of Justiciary in that year he attended the autumn circuit at Inverness and was met by his kinsman Simon Lord Lovat a few miles before he entered the town, attended by a numerous retinue, to pay him special honour and congratulate him on his new dignity.

He had a Crown charter of the lands and barony of Lentran, which had been disposed to him by the same Simon Lord Lovat, dated the 11th of February, 1741.

There were several plantations of fir and forest in the parish of Strichen made and planted by his Lordship, which from the effect of contrast "make a great addition to the beauty of the place in a country where there is little wood." Among these plantations there were a great many fine old trees supposed to have been planted about the beginning of the seventeenth century, 150 circles having been counted on some which had been cut down about the middle of last century. Dr Johnson saw some of the remaining ones when on his famous tour, and referring to them Boswell says, "that he had (then) travelled 200 miles, and he had only seen one tree, not younger than himself; but at Strichen, he saw trees of full growth, worthy of notice." The author of the description in the *Old Statistical Account* (1793) of the parish of Tyrie, which is included in the barony of Strichen, says that "what has been done for promoting the industries, prosperity, and happiness of this parish and neighbourhood must reflect great honour on the memory of the late Alexander Fraser of Strichen, one of the Senators of the College of Justice. He first introduced improvements, gave lime to his tenants, and in spite of

their prejudices prevailed with them to use it as manure, brought skilful men from the South country, who taught them to grow grass seeds and raise turnips, cabbage, and potatoes, in the fields. He gave them leases during their lives at a reasonable rate; and did not think his interest hurt when he saw his tenants enjoying the comforts of life. The good effects of these encouragements are, extensive fields regularly laid out, fine stone fences, excellent crops of turnips, sown grass, and almost all sorts of grain, stocks of cattle, full cornyards, and everywhere the appearance of plenty. Hay, formerly unknown, is now abundant. Commerce and manufactures begin to thrive; much money is brought into the parish for flax, and linen made out of flax raised in it; and all ranks of people are more industrious and healthy than formerly." No greater compliment to his Lordship's good sense and public spirit could be recorded.

In the deed of entail executed by General Simon Fraser on the 16th of May, 1774, during Lord Strichen's life, he settled the estates of Lovat in default of heirs-male or female of his own body and heirs-male of the body of his brother, the Hon. Archibald Campbell Fraser, upon the family of Strichen, as nearest heirs of the old line of the Frasers of Lovat after the family of Inverallochy, then represented by William Fraser.

Lord Strichen married, Ann, daughter of Archibald, first Duke of Argyll, Countess of Bute, widow of James, the second Earl, who died on the 28th of January, 1723, and who was himself the grandson, by his mother, Agnes Mackenzie, of the celebrated Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, and, on the death of his maternal uncle, and after an obstinate fight in the law courts, succeeded to his estates in the county of Ross. By the Countess of Bute, who is described as "a woman of most amiable character," Lord Strichen, who died on the 15th of February, 1775, had issue, an only son,

VIII. ALEXANDER FRASER, eighth of Strichen, to whom the estate had been conveyed by his father during his own

life, as already stated, on the 5th of February 1759. The barony of Lentran, holding off the family of Strichen, producing a trifling rental, was sold in 1797 after a public competition for £2500 to a Mr Warren, who in 1812, twenty-five years afterwards, sold it to Major Thomas Fraser of Newton for £25,000. On the 30th of August, 1794, he executed a disposition of the estate of Strichen and of the barony of Lentran to himself in life-rent and to his eldest son Alexander, Captain in the 1st Regiment of Dragoon Guards, in fee.

He entertained Dr Johnson and Boswell. The latter refers to him as "the worthy son of a worthy father," and as "very hospitable." When they were at his house, "there was a fair at Strichen, and he had several of his neighbours from it at dinner. One of them, Dr Fraser, who had been in the army, remembered to have seen Dr Johnson at a lecture on Experimental Philosophy at Lichfield. The Doctor recollected being at the lecture, and he was surprised to find here somebody who knew him."^{*}

Alexander married, at Migomie, Jean only child of William Menzies, parish of St. Ann's, Jamaica, brother of James Menzies of Culdares (marriage contract dated the 13th and 20th of March, 1764), and by her received an estate in Jamaica, which, however, was sold in 1793. By this lady he had issue—

1. Alexander, his heir and successor, one of the substitutes of General Fraser's entail of 1774.
2. Stewart Mackenzie, who died without issue.
3. Thomas, mentioned, like all his brothers, in the entail of 1774.
4. William, who died before 1797, without issue.
5. Frances, who died young.
6. Francis Jean, who also died young.
7. Anne.
8. James, who married John Morison of Achintoul—contract dated the 15th of August, 1799.

Alexander died after the 30th of August, 1794, and before

^{*} *Boswell's Tour to the Hebrides,*

the 3rd of February, 1795, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

IX. ALEXANDER FRASER, ninth of Strichen, Captain in the 1st Regiment of Dragoon Guards, in virtue of his father's disposition in his favour, dated, as above, the 30th of August, 1794. He has a Crown charter of resignation of the baronies of Strichen and Lentran on the 3rd of February, 1795.

He married Emilia, daughter of John Leslie of Balquhain (contract of marriage 10th of May, 1800), with issue—one son, Thomas Alexander.

Captain Fraser died on the 28th of April, 1803, when he was succeeded by his only son,

X. THOMAS ALEXANDER FRASER, tenth of Strichen, afterwards Lord Lovat. He was served heir in special to his father in the barony of Strichen on the 30th of April, 1804. In 1808 the Hon. Colonel Archibald Campbell Fraser, XX. of Lovat), executed a deed of entail of the estate of Abertarff "to and in favour of the nearest legitimate male issue of my ancestor Hugh, Lord Fraser of Lovat, namely, Thomas Alexander Fraser of Strichen," but on the 2nd of July, 1812, he executed another deed of settlement of the same estate in favour of his grandson, Archibald Thomas Frederick (the illegitimate offspring of his eldest son John Simon Fraser, M.P., who died unmarried on the 6th of April, 1803), and his heirs-male, whom failing, the heirs nominated in the deed of 1808.

On the death of the Hon. Colonel Archibald Campbell Fraser of Lovat, youngest and last surviving son of Lord Simon of the 'Forty-five, without surviving male issue, on the 8th of December, 1815, the succession opened up to Thomas Alexander Fraser, X. of Strichen, when he came into possession of the Lovat estates. He was created a Peer of the United Kingdom on the 28th of January, 1837, and ultimately on the 11th of August, 1857, had the Scottish Peerage restored to him. For his descendants see THE LOVAT FAMILY.

THE FRASERS OF FARRALINE.

I. ALEXANDER FRASER, the first of this family, was the third son of Hugh, fourth Lord Lovat, by Janet, daughter of Sir Alexander Gordon of Auchindown and Midmar, niece of George, second Earl of Huntly. His elder brother, Hugh, was killed at Flodden, on the 9th of September, 1513, unmarried. Alexander died young, but not before he married a daughter of Hugh Ross, first of Achnacloich, third son of David, VII. of Balnagown, by his wife, Helen, daughter of Keith of Inverugie, with issue—at least one son,

II. JOHN FRASER, second of Farraline, known among his countrymen as “Ian Mac Alastair,” or John the son of Alexander. He was the first of this family who settled in Stratherrick. He married Katharine, fourth daughter of Hugh Rose, IX. of Kilravock, by Agnes, daughter of Alexander Urquhart of Cromarty,* with issue—

1. Thomas, his heir and successor.

2. Hugh, from whom the Frasers of Erchitt, of whom next.

3. James, born after his father's death, ancestor of the Frasers of Culduthel, of whom in their order.

John was slain at the Battle of Blar-nan-leine, at Kinlochlochry, on the 15th of July, 1544. From him the Frasers

* “A fourth daughter of this marriage, named Katharine, was married to John Fraser of Farraline (whose family is best known by the title of Bailie of Stratherrick), who, with the Lord Lovat, and most of the name of Fraser, was killed at Kinlochlochry in 1543 (1544). She was one of the four score widows who, by having posthumous sons, restored the name of Fraser, almost extinct by killing of their husbands as aforesaid. What his tocher was I find not, only I find a receipt of eleven merks Scots in complete payment of his tocher. This Katharine Rose (about 1553), after the decease of John Fraser, her first husband, married Donald Mackintosh, William's son, by whom she was mother to Angus Mackintosh (called Williamson also), a very witty and daring man, predecessor of the present Mackintosh of Kyllachy.”—*Kilravock Family Papers*.

of Farraline became known all over the Highlands as "Sliochd Ian Mhic Alastair"—the descendants of John the son of Alexander.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

III. THOMAS FRASER, third of Farraline, who married Janet, daughter of Cluny Macpherson of Cluny, with issue—

IV. ALEXANDER FRASER, fourth of Farraline, who married Marjory, only daughter of "Mac Ian vic Cunchie of Garthbeg,"* whose real name was Fraser, not Campbell as would be inferred from a statement in Burke. In 1634 Tavish Fraser of Little Garth is mentioned, and in the Valuation Roll of 1644 Thomas Fraser of Little Garth is entered for lands in the parish of Boleskine and Abertarff for £152 Scots. In an inventory of the moveable debts and others pertaining to the deceased James Dunbar, Bailie of Inverness, dated the 8th of September, 1712, is entered note of a Bond by "Tavish Fraser *alias* MacConchie of Little Garth, to the said James Dunbar for the sum of £20 Scots money, with penalty and annual rent, dated the 23rd day of June, 1696 years, registered in the Sheriff Court Books of Inverness, the 15th day of December, 1703, thereupon horning and caution." From this it appears that the heads of the Frasers of Garthbeg were always designated "MacConchie." By this lady Alexander Fraser of Farraline had issue—

V. THOMAS FRASER, fifth of Farraline, whose name appears in the Valuation Roll for 1644 for lands in Abertarff valued at £266 13s 4d Scots. He married Isabella, daughter of James Shaw of Kinrara, with issue—

1. Alexander, his heir and successor.

2. John, from whom the Frasers of Gortuleg, of whom in their order.

Thomas died in 1644, for in that year his son is described as,

VI. ALEXANDER FRASER, sixth "of Farraline." There is a decree given against Alexander under this designation

* Pedigree in Lyon Office in petition for registration of Arms by Sheriff Simon Fraser of Farraline in 1776.

on the 20th July, 1644, at the instance of the Executors dative of the deceased Alexander Dunbar of Bennetsfield for the sum of £20 sterling. He married Catherine, daughter of Hugh Fraser, II. of Erchitt, with issue—

VII. THOMAS FRASER, seventh of Farraline, who married Bethia, only daughter of William Fraser, VI. of Foyers, with issue—

VIII. ALEXANDER FRASER, eighth of Farraline, on record in 1716. He married Magdalen, daughter of Farquhar Macgillivray of Dunmaglass, with issue—

1. John, his heir and successor.

2. Hugh, in Bochrubin, described in 1802 as a very old man, and as “uncle” to Simon Fraser of Farraline, the well-known Sheriff, of whom presently.

Alexander was succeeded by his elder son,

IX. JOHN FRASER, ninth of Farraline, who is mentioned in 1749. He married Katherine, daughter of Hugh Fraser of Bochrubin, with issue—

1. Simon, his heir and successor.

2. Thomas, named in General Simon Fraser’s deed of entail in 1774, but died without issue before 1797.

3. Bella, who married Thomas Fraser, Dalcattaig, with issue, from whom the later Frasers of Abersky.

He was succeeded by his elder son,

X. SIMON FRASER, tenth of Farraline, who registered arms in the Lyon Office in 1776. He was appointed Sheriff of Inverness-shire in May, 1781, at a time when the country was in a very unsatisfactory condition. A band of marauders infested the county between that period and the Battle of Culloden, and although his predecessors in the Sherifffdom, David Scrymgeour of Birkhill, and Alexander Campbell of Delnie, after repeated endeavours to extirpate a notorious band of robbers who infested the shire, failed in doing so, Sheriff Fraser ultimately succeeded. When appointed, he discovered that the existing police was insufficient for its purpose, and found in consequence that the only way to protect the property of the lieges was by an

existing arrangement to pay voluntary blackmail in money or cattle to the bands of robbers who then scoured over the Highlands and did pretty much what they liked. Farraline, who for a considerable time served in the army, left it for the law, and at the desire of his chief, General Simon Fraser of Lovat, set himself to work right earnestly to bring about the suppression of the unsatisfactory state of things which prevailed. With the assistance of a strong and courageous Highlander, well-known in his day, John Mackay, messenger-at-arms, Fort-Augustus, as his assistant, and by unremitting personal and persistent efforts, Sheriff Fraser ultimately succeeded in effecting his purpose. Accompanied by his faithful and trusty henchman, he traversed the most inaccessible districts, often incurring great personal danger on his journeys. He was more than once fired at, and so imminent were the risks he anticipated and often incurred that he never travelled on these occasions without a brace of loaded pistols ready for immediate use. Acting on the well-known adage, of setting "a thief to catch a thief," he appointed Donald Mor Cameron, in Leckroy of Lochaber, himself reputed a notorious cattle-lifter, as one of the constables of the county of Inverness, and thus secured his services on the side of good order in his district. By Donald's aid the whole tribe of Kennedies who lived by tribute or blackmail over a wide range of country were hunted down, one of them having been hanged in Inverness, while several more were banished across the seas. John Mackay tracked two notorious members of this tribe as far as Callander, and by a bold and masterly manœuvre captured them while carousing there in an alehouse. Mackay suddenly entered the room in which they were drinking and peremptorily called on them to surrender, telling them at the same time that escape was now impossible. They curiously enough believed him, thinking no doubt that he had never dared to come so far without a sufficient body-guard, and quietly allowed themselves to be handcuffed and carried away prisoners. Their mortification and rage may be imagined when they found themselves the outwitted

victims of a bold and cleverly executed stratagem by a single unprotected officer of the law.

Simon Fraser of Farraline was one of those in whose favour a Royal Charter was granted on the 6th of March, 1793, for the foundation of the Royal Academy of Inverness. In 1797 George III. directed letters to a few leading men in Inverness-shire, giving them power and authority to receive the oaths of all the Justices of the Peace for the county, and Simon was one of them.

He married Margaret Fall, a lady from the South (who died on the 5th of June, 1796), with issue—

1. John, his heir and successor.
2. Alexander, born in 1788, and died in 1791.
3. Alexander, W.S., who died, unmarried, on the 6th of October, 1839, aged 43 years.
4. Grace ; 5. Catharine ; and 6. Margaret. All three died unmarried.

Sheriff Fraser, at the time residing at Seabank, Inverness, was drowned while bathing at the Longman, on the 21st of August, 1810, aged 66 years, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

XI. JOHN FRASER, eleventh of Farraline, an advocate at the Scottish Bar, and Deputy-Lieutenant for the county of Inverness. He sold the estate and married, with issue—

1. Simon, his heir and successor.
2. Hannah, who lived at North Berwick, and died there unmarried.

He died at Stirling, on the 12th of June, 1838, aged 58 years, and was succeeded as representative of the family by his only son,

XII. SIMON FRASER, who is on the list of Justices of the Peace for Inverness-shire in 1838, his father, John, who died in that year, being named in the same list as Deputy-Lieutenant. Simon left no issue,

THE FRASERS OF ERCHITT.

I. HUGH FRASER, first of Erchitt, second son of John Fraser, second of Farraline, by Katherine, daughter of Hugh Rose, IX. of Kilravock, was the first of this family. He is, along with Alexander in Farnell, witness to a deed of submission between Simon, eighth Lord Fraser of Lovat, and John Grant of Freuchie, dated the 13th of September, 1599, of certain differences between them, the arbiters representing Lord Lovat being Thomas Fraser of Strichen, John Chisholm of Comar, Hugh Fraser of Guisachan, Hugh Fraser of Belladrum, Angus Mackintosh of Termit, and Alexander Fraser of Farnell.*

He married Margaret, daughter of Kenneth Mackenzie, III. of Kilchrist (widow of the Tutor of Foyers and sister of Alexander Mackenzie, I. of Suddie), by his second wife Catharine, daughter of Roderick Mor Mackenzie, I. of Redcastle,† with issue—

1. Hugh, his heir and successor.
2. Another son.

He died in October, 1610, aged 70 years, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

II. HUGH FRASER, second of Erchitt. He was Tutor of Foyers. He married first, Helen, daughter of William Mackintosh, VIII. of Kyllachy, without issue. He married secondly a daughter of Alexander Chisholm, XIV. of Chisholm, by his wife Janet, widow of Æneas Macdonald, VII. of Glengarry, and daughter of Kenneth Mackenzie, Xth

* *Chiefs of Grant*, vol. iii., pp. 195-196.

† Mackenzie's *History of the Mackenzies*, new edition, p. 524; and Findon's *Genealogical Tables*. It is stated in the Farraline pedigree in the Lyon Office that Hugh's wife was a daughter of William Mackenzie of Suddie. There was no *William* of Suddie for nearly a hundred and fifty years after this date.

Baron of Kintail, by Lady Elizabeth Stewart, daughter of John second Earl of Atholl, with issue—

1. Alexander, his heir and successor.
2. Catharine, who married Alexander Fraser, VI. of Farraline, with issue.

He fell at the battle of Inverlochy, in February, 1645, and was succeeded by his only son,

III. ALEXANDER FRASER, third of Erchitt. He succeeded to the estate during the life of his father, for he appears in the Valuation Roll of 1644 for lands in the parish of Dore, valued at £333 6s 8d Scots. A decret is given against him for £21 6s 8d on the 20th of July, 1664, and on the same date against "Donald Fraser, apparent of Erchitt," for £40.

He married, first, Betsy, daughter of Cluny Macpherson of Cluny, with issue—

1. Donald, his heir and successor.
2. A daughter.

He married, secondly, a daughter of James Fraser, III. of Culduthel, with issue—

3. Hugh, first of the Frasers of Balnain, of whom presently.

4. Alexander, wadsetter of Bochrubin, whose son Hugh, described as "Younger in Bochruben," was among the nineteen Frasers outlawed and sentenced to death in absence on the 6th of September, 1698, by the Court of Justiciary. Hugh, however, like all the others, continued to move about in perfect freedom in the mountains of his native country, and after Lord Simon went to France, in 1702, young Bochrubin was one of the most active companions of Lovat's brother John, harassing the country, then claimed by the Dowager Lady Lovat, by whom he is petitioned against to the Privy Council in 1702 (see page 265), six months after he had been formally outlawed and sentenced to death.

5. John, from whom the Frasers of Abersky.

He had also several daughters.

Alexander was succeeded by his eldest son,

IV. DONALD FRASER, fourth of Erchitt. His name

appears in the Proclamation of October 1678 as one of the heads of branch families who had to appear at Inverlochy before the 26th of November following, to give security and receive instructions as to the peace of the Highlands. His affairs became involved and at least part of the estate had to be sold to pay his debts, when his younger brother, Hugh, acquired the lands of Balnain, in wadset, from Hugh Lord Lovat.

Donald married, with issue—a son,

V. WILLIAM FRASER, fifth of Erchitt, who appears in the Valuation Roll of 1691 for lands in the parish of Dores, valued at £166 13s 4d; and in the parish of Inverness for his wife's life-rent of the lands of Dunain's estate, entered at £325 6s 8d. He married Catherine, daughter of Alexander Chisholm, XVII. of Chisholm, by his wife, Margaret, daughter of Alexander Mackenzie, V. of Gairloch. Catherine was the widow of Hugh Fraser, VII. of Foyers, as appears from a summons in possession of Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, dated the 22nd of February, 1694, for arrears of feu-duty against her second husband, in which she is described as "relict of the umquhile Hugh Fraser of Foyers." William appears to have died without male issue, for the representation of the family of Erchitt devolved upon his uncle, Uisdean Mor, first of Balnain, of whom next.

THE FRASERS OF BALNAIN.

I. HUGH FRASER, known as "Uisdean Mor," or Big Hugh, eldest son of Alexander Fraser, III. of Erchitt, by his second marriage to a daughter of James, III. of Culduthel, was the first of this family, having acquired these lands in wadset from Hugh, tenth Lord Lovat. On the 1st of September, 1675, he grants a bond for £51 7s 8d, in which he is described as "Hugh Fraser of Leadclune," and "of Bochrubine." He is again on record in 1696, still described "of Wester Leadclune." He married Katharine, daughter of Alexander Chisholm, XIX. of Chisholm, by his wife, eldest daughter of Roderick Mackenzie, I. of Applecross, with issue—

1. Alexander, described in 1709 as "Younger of Balnain," his heir and successor.

2. Hugh, generally called "Uisdean Og," or Hugh the Younger, from whom the Frasers of Leadclune, and of whom next.

3. Alexander, on record in 1679.

4. John, noticed in the same year.

Hugh was succeeded by his eldest son,

II. ALEXANDER FRASER, second of Balnain, who was in possession in 1730, in which year Lord Lovat granted him and his second son, William Fraser, W.S., a tack of Balnain, of Glendo, Muirlagan, and Shellach. On the 21st of April, 1701, he married, first, Jane, daughter of William Fraser, VIII. of Foyers, by his wife Margaret, daughter of Alexander Mackintosh of Connage, with issue—

1. Hugh, his heir and successor, born on the 15th of September, 1702.

2. William Fraser, W.S., who was born on the 14th of November, 1703, and died on the 10th of December, 1775. He succeeded his brother Hugh.

3. Alexander, born on the 19th of February, 1705, and died in infancy, on the 2nd of February, 1706.

4. John, born on the 27th of September, 1706, and died on the 13th of September, 1735, unmarried.

5. Alexander, born on the 13th of March, 1708, and died in childhood in April, 1710.

6. James, born on the 8th of May, 1710, and died in 1760, having married and left issue—one daughter.

7. Katharine, born on the 3rd of May, 1712, and died young in April, 1717.

Alexander married secondly, on the 11th of July, 1716, Jean, eldest daughter of Angus Mackintosh, X. of Kyllachy, by his wife, Lucy, daughter of Sir Alexander Mackenzie, second Baronet, and II. of Coul, with issue—

8. Angus, who was born on the 10th of April, 1717, and died in South America in 1778, without issue.

9. Thomas Fraser, M.D., born on the 8th of June, 1726. He practised his profession in the island of Antigua, and there married Elizabeth, daughter of William Mackinnon, "a cadet of Mackinnon of that Ilk," with issue—(1) William Mackinnon Fraser, who was Physician Extraordinary to King George IV., when Prince of Wales. He bought the present lands of Balnain when the unentailed parts of the Lovat estates were sold off in 1798, in terms of the Act of Parliament passed in the preceding year to pay off the late General Simon of Lovat's debts; (2) Charles, Major, H.E.I.C.S., who married Miss Raper, with issue—three sons, Charles, who held a high position in the Bengal Civil Service; Simon, who was British Resident at Delhi during the Mutiny in 1857, and was the first man killed while proceeding to close the gates of the City against the mutineers; and William, and eight daughters—Charlotte, Eliza, Anne, Isabella, Fanny, Catherine, Fredericka, and Caroline. He registered arms in 1803. (3) Jane; and (4) Charity, of both of whom presently.

10. Lachlan, born on the 12th of March, 1728, and died without issue, in 1759.

11. Brigadier General Simon Fraser, born on the 26th of May, 1729. He was fatally wounded at Saratoga on the 7th of October, 1777, and died the following day.

He served in the Scots Regiment in the Dutch service and was wounded at Bergen-ap-Zoom. He was present at Minden, and was the officer who answered the hail of the enemy's sentry in French and made him believe that the troops who surprised the Heights of Abraham were the Regiment de la Rhine. Through the interest of the Marquis of Townshend, who appointed him his Aide-de-Camp in Ireland, he was selected as Quarter-Master-General to the troops then stationed in that country, but having been offered a command under General Burgoyne in America he left Ireland in order to join that distinguished officer, and had the singular good fortune to increase his reputation in that disastrous expedition. At Saratoga General Fraser commanded the British Light Infantry and the 24th Regiment, on the right. Here they were pressed hard by masses of the Americans, and were forced to fall back to a point where they formed an oblique second line, by which they defeated the enemy's manœuvre to force the British right. They were at the same time able to succour their comrades on the left wing, the gallant Grenadiers, who were overpowered by the superior numbers of the Americans and would have been cut to pieces but for this aid from those under General Fraser. To quote from Professor Creasy's *Fifteen Decisive Battles*—"The contest was fiercely maintained on both sides. On the side of the British, the officers did their duty nobly; but General Fraser was the most eminent of them all, restoring order whenever the line began to waver and infusing fresh courage into his men by voice and example. Mounted on an iron-gray charger, and dressed in the full uniform of a general officer, he was conspicuous to foes as well as to friends. The American Colonel Morgan thought that the fate of the battle rested on this gallant man's life, and calling several of the best marksmen around him pointed him out, and said—'That officer is General Fraser; I admire him, but he must die. Our victory depends on it. Take your stations in that clump of bushes and do your duty.' Within five minutes Fraser fell mortally wounded, and was carried

to the British camp by two Grenadiers. Just previously to his being struck by the fatal bullet, one rifle ball had cut the crupper of his saddle, and another had passed through his horse's mane close behind the ears. His aide-de-camp had noticed this, and said—"It is evident that you are marked out for particular aim; would it not be prudent for you to retire from this place?" Fraser replied 'My duty forbids me to retire from danger,' and the next moment he fell. Burgoyne's whole force was now compelled to retreat towards the camp, the left and centre in complete disorder, but on the right (where General Fraser had commanded) the Light Infantry and the 24th checked the fury of the enemy, and the remains of the column, with great difficulty, effected their return to the camp, which the Americans attacked with partial success. Burgoyne on the following day retired to Saratoga, abandoning the sick and wounded and the greater part of the baggage to the enemy. But before the rear guard quitted the camp the last sad honours were paid to the brave General Fraser, who expired the day after the action. He had almost with his last breath expressed a wish to be buried in the redoubt which had formed the part of the British lines where he had been stationed, but which had now been abandoned by the army, and was within full range of the cannon which the advancing Americans were rapidly placing in position to bear upon Burgoyne's force. Burgoyne resolved, nevertheless, to comply with the dying wish of his comrade and the interment took place under circumstances the most affecting that had ever marked a soldier's funeral." Lessing, the American historian, has described this touching episode in a spirit that does honour both to himself and to his subject. After narrating at length the death of General Fraser on the 8th of October, he concludes—"It was just at sunset, on that calm October evening that the corpse of General Fraser was carried up the hill to the place of burial within the 'great redoubt.' It was attended only by the military members of his family and Mr Brudenell the Chaplain, yet the eyes of hundreds of both armies followed the procession, while

the Americans, ignorant of its true character, kept up a constant cannonade upon the redoubt. The Chaplain, unmoved by the danger to which he was exposed, as the cannon balls that struck the hill threw the loose soil over him, pronounced the impressive funeral service of the Church of England, with an unfaltering voice. Suddenly the irregular firing ceased and the solemn voice of a single cannon at measured intervals boomed along the valley and awakened the responses of the hills. It was a minute gun fired by the Americans in honour of the gallant dead. The moment the information was given that the gathering at the redoubt was a funeral company, fulfilling at imminent peril the last breathed wishes of the noble Fraser, orders were issued to withhold the cannonade with balls, and to render military homage to the fallen brave." General Simon married the widow of Alexander, third son of Alexander Grant of Shewglie, without issue. A portrait of him at the moment of being wounded and another of his funeral, said to be painted by West at the expense of his brother officers, and presented by them to his widow, who, at her death, left them to the head of the family, are both in possession of Captain James Wilson Fraser of Balnain at Farraline House.

12. Charles, Commissary of Inverness, who was born on the 19th of October, 1731, and died, unmarried, on the 13th of August, 1778.

13. Anne, born on the 6th of March, 1719, married Macgillivray of Clunes, with issue, and died on the 5th of July, 1800.

14. Katharine, born on the 22nd of November, 1721, and died young in May, 1732.

15. Jean, born on the 1st of October, 1722, and died, unmarried, on the 27th of July, 1768.

Alexander was succeeded by his eldest son,

III. HUGH FRASER, third of Balnain, who purchased Knockie from the family of Strichen. He married Jean Forbes, with issue—three daughters.

He was killed by two soldiers, off the shore of Nairn,

on the 4th of June, 1735, when he was succeeded in the estates, and also as male representative of the family, by his younger brother,

IV. WILLIAM FRASER, W.S., fourth of Balnain, who was born on the 14th of November, 1703, and in 1754 acquired the estate of Aldourie from Captain Daniel Barbour. Mr Charles Fraser-Mackintosh says that he "may be described as the real founder of the family, and his descendants clung for some time to the title, although another branch of the family had purchased the lands of Balnain and legitimately assumed the designation. William Fraser was in much repute as an Edinburgh lawyer, and had a good deal to do with the affairs of Simon Lord Lovat. After his purchase of Aldourie he came North every year, and took a great interest in the improvement of the place. It would appear from his letters that on his journeys to Edinburgh he always travelled across Corryarraick, and in one letter there is an amusing account of the family's difficulties from the breaking down of their chariot on the top of the pass in most inclement weather."*

In the *New Statistical Account* for the parish of Inverness, published in 1841, the author states that Fraser of Balnain was superior of one half of the estate of Alturlies in the parish of Petty, the other half belonging to Rose of Alturlies, and it is a curious fact, he says, that it was never known which half belonged to either proprietor; and "there is an elder in this parish, Mr David Fraser, late of Breackinish, who recollects that his father and all the tenants in paying their rents in kind used to go with the one half to Balnain and with the other half to Culloden House." In 1768 the other half of the estate was secured by John Forbes of Culloden.

William married Jean, who is described as his late wife in 1776, daughter of Archibald Macaulay, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, with issue, three daughters—

1. Anne, who, in 1776, married Alexander Tytler, Lord Woodhouselee, one of the Senators of the College of Jus-

* *Letters of Two Centuries.*

tice and one of the Commissioners of Justiciary in Scotland. She carried the estates of Balnain and Aldourie to her husband, by whom she had several sons and daughters. See THE FRASER-TYTTLERS OF ALDOURIE.

2. Katharine, who died unmarried.

3. Jane, who, in 1782, married Edward Satchwell Fraser, XII. of Reelick, with issue.

William died on the 10th of December, 1775, when he was succeeded as male representative of the family by his first cousin, Dr William Mackinnon Fraser, Physician Extraordinary to King George IV. when Prince of Wales.

It is necessary, in order to make the succession perfectly clear, to go back a little. It will be remembered that Alexander Fraser, II. of Balnain, had by his second marriage to Jean, daughter of Angus Mackintosh, X. of Kyllachy, several sons, the eldest of whom, Angus, died in South America in 1778, without issue, when, all the sons of Alexander's first marriage with Jean Fraser of Foyers having died without male heirs, the male representation devolved upon the issue of Thomas of Antigua, Alexander's second son by the second marriage.

This Thomas, as already stated, married Elizabeth, daughter of William Mackinnon, a cadet of the Mackinnons of Strath, Isle of Skye, with issue—

1. William Mackinnon, as above-named, who succeeded his cousin, William Fraser, W.S., as male representative of the family, bought back the lands of Balnain, and of whom presently.

2. Charles, who married Miss Raper, and has been already referred to along with his three sons and eight daughters.

3. Jane, who, in 1770, married Charles Grant, who was born in 1746, for thirty years represented the County of Inverness in Parliament, and was one of the most distinguished directors of the Hon. East India Company. By Jane Fraser, who died on the 23rd of January, 1827, he had issue—(1) The Right Hon. Charles Grant, a Privy Councillor, and Secretary of State for the Colonies. On

the 11th of May, 1835, he was raised to the Peerage as Lord Glenelg. He, like his father, represented the County of Inverness in the House of Commons. He died unmarried, at Cannes, France, on the 23rd of April, 1866, when the title became extinct; (2) the Right Hon. Sir Robert Grant, Governor of Bombay, who, on the 11th of August, 1829, married Margaret, only daughter of Sir David Davidson of Cantray, with issue—(a) Sir Charles, born on the 22nd of January, 1836. He held a high position in the Bengal Civil Service, and was for many years Foreign Secretary to the Indian Government. He married, first, a daughter of Henry Baillie of Redcastle, with issue—two sons. He married, secondly, Lady Florence Lucia, sister of the present Earl of Malmesbury, also with issue; (b) Robert, born on the 10th of August, 1837. He holds a high rank in the army and is married, with issue—two sons; (c) Constance Charemile, who died in July, 1843; (d) Sybella Sophia, who, on the 9th of March, 1864, married Richard Ryder of the Inner Temple, London, afterwards M.P. for Salisbury. Sir Robert Grant died in 1838. (3) Thomas William Grant, born on the 15th of May, 1848, and died unmarried; (4) Charity Amelia, who married the Right Hon. Samuel March Phillips, Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department; (5) Maria; (6) Sybella; and (7) Sophia, who married Patrick Grant of Redcastle, with issue, among others, the Rev. Alexander Ronald Grant, Honorary Canon of Hitcham, County of Suffolk, the present representative of the Grants of Shewglie. He married his cousin, a daughter of William Grant of Lochletter, with issue—several sons, the eldest of whom is a Captain in the Central Indian Horse.

4. Charity, who married William Chambers, descended from an old family who had long been settled in the county of Durham. He was in the H.E.I.C.S., and was a distinguished Oriental scholar. They had issue, two sons—(1) William Frederick Chambers of Hordscliffe, Hants, M.D., F.R.S., and K.C.H. He was educated at Westminster School, from whence he obtained a scholarship at

Trinity College, Cambridge, where he had graduated in 1808 ; was appointed Physician in Ordinary to William IV. shortly before that King's death, and attended him in his last illness. He was also Physician to her present Majesty Queen Victoria. William Frederick Charles married his cousin Mary, daughter of Dr William Mackinnon Fraser, V. of Balnain, with issue ; (2) Sir Charles Harcourt Chambers, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Bombay, and for a time Acting Chief-Justice. Educated at Westminster School, and subsequently a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, he married Isabell, younger daughter of Major William Wilson of Polmaily, Glenurquhart, and died on the 13th of October, 1828, leaving issue (along with two daughters, Charity Isabella and Annie Catherine, both residing at Polmaily House, unmarried)—one son, Charles Harcourt, barrister-at-law, who, educated at Rugby and Trinity College, Cambridge, married Lucebella, only daughter of Captain Marcus Hare, R.N., of Rock End, Torquay, and Court Grange, Devonshire, with issue—four sons and two daughters—Charles Roland, of Middlemount, Cape Colony, married, with issue ; Marcus Stanley ; Bertram Mordaunt, Lieutenant, R.N. ; Theodore Gervase ; Margaret, married, with issue ; and Ida Vere Maude, also married, with issue. William Chambers and Charity Fraser had also two daughters—Charity Eliza and Anne, both of whom died unmarried.

William Fraser, W.S., IV. of Balnain, having died on the 10th of December, 1775, was succeeded, as above, by his first cousin,

V. WILLIAM MACKINNON FRASER, Physician Extraordinary to King George IV., when Prince of Wales. He purchased the lands of Balnain, formerly a wadset, from the family of Lovat in 1798, when some of the outlying portions of that estate were sold for the payment of General Simon Fraser's debts under the provisions of a special Act of Parliament passed in that year.

He married, on the 19th of March, 1783, Isabella, daughter of Cortland Skinner, of Amboy, New Jersey,

United States of America, Attorney-General of that State, with issue—

1. Thomas, his heir and successor.

2. The Rev. William, Chaplain H.E.I.C.S. He subsequently retired, and died Vicar of North Waltham, Hants. Born on the 17th of November, 1788, he married, first, Margaret Mackenzie, Knockbairns, with issue; and secondly, Miss Way.

3. The Hon. Sir John Fraser, K.C.M.G., Secretary to the Government of the Ionian Islands, who married Selina, daughter of William Baldwin of Stede Hill, with issue—(1) Hugh Fraser, Secretary to Her Majesty's Italian Legation, and subsequently, in 1888, appointed Her Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Japan. He married Mary, daughter of Marion Crawford, with issue—John, born in 1875, and Hugh, born in 1877. He registered arms in 1884, and died at the British Embassy, at Tokio, in 1894; (2) Frances.

4. Charles, born on the 7th of May, 1799.

5. Hugh, who married Jane, daughter of Philip Affleck Fraser, IX, of Culduthel, with issue—a daughter who died young.

6. Elizabeth Henrietta, who died in 1800 in her fifth year.

7. Charlotte Isabella, born on the 9th of August, 1786.

8. Anne, born on the 15th of February, 1791.

9. Elizabeth, born on the 6th of May, 1802.

10. Harriet Rachel.

11. Mary, who married her cousin, William Frederick Chambers, M.D., F.R.S., and K.C.H., Physician in Ordinary to William IV. and to her Majesty Queen Victoria from her accession to the Crown in 1837 until he resigned in 1853, with issue—(1) the Rev. William Frederick Chambers, some time Vicar of Kelsy, Lincoln; (2) Robert Harcourt Chambers, M.A., of the Inner Temple, London; (3) Rosalind Charity, who married the Rev. J. Fyler of Woolands, Surrey; and (4) Francis Elizabeth, who married the Rev. James Crozier. Dr William Frederick Chambers died at Hordscliffe, Hants, in December, 1855, aged 69 years.

Dr William Mackinnon Fraser died at Sharesbrook, Bedfordshire, on the 8th of September, 1807, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

VI. COLONEL THOMAS FRASER, of the 83rd Regiment, sixth of Balnain. He was born on the 1st of March, 1784, and on the 1st of June, 1817, married first, Jean, only child of Simon Fraser, XI. and last of Foyers. She died on the 9th of July, the same year, "much lamented, in the flower of her age," without issue. He married secondly, Harriet, eldest daughter of Colonel John Grant of Glenmoriston, with issue—

1. Simon, who died unmarried.
2. William, who died unmarried.
3. John, who succeeded to Balnain.
4. Eliza, born in 1828, and described on her tombstone as her father's only daughter. She died in London in 1875, unmarried.

Colonel Thomas died in 1869, when he was succeeded by his third and only surviving son,

VII. CAPTAIN JOHN FRASER of the Bengal Army, seventh of Balnain, who was born at Errogie on the 29th of February, 1821, and was educated at King's College, Aberdeen. He served through the Sutledge Campaign under Viscount Gough, and received medals and clasps for the four engagements in which he took part. He married first, in 1857, Ella, daughter of James Wilson, banker, Inverness, by his wife Isabella, daughter of Major Thomas Fraser, IV. of Dunballoch and Newton, with issue—

1. Thomas, late Captain 91st Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders. He was born in 1859; joined the army and fought in the Zulu War. He married on the 27th of June, 1889, Rose Mabel, daughter of Edward Courtenay, merchant, Waterford, Ireland, with issue—John, born on the 7th of April, 1890; Patrick, born on the 16th of August, 1893; Simon, born on the 25th of July, 1894; and Nancy Isabella.

2. James Wilson, who succeeded to Balnain.

3. John, who died unmarried, at Darjeeling, Bengal, on the 5th of October, 1892, aged 26 years.

4. Isabella, who died young in 1872.

5. Harriet Ann Grant, who died unmarried in her seventeenth year, in 1881.

Captain John's first wife having died in 1866, he married secondly, on the 9th of January, 1868, Katharine, youngest daughter of Captain Thomas Cleather of the H.E.I.C.S., with issue—

6. Cleather, born on the 13th of July, 1870, now in Ceylon.

7. William, born on the 14th of April, 1875, also in Ceylon.

8. Mary Inglis, who, on the 23rd of December, 1890, married Harry Dewdney Thomas, M.A., Oxon., Headmaster, the College, Inverness, with issue—two daughters, Margaret and Katharine Mary.

9. Helen Alves.

10. Kate, a twin of her brother William.

He died on the 16th of February, 1892, when he was succeeded as representative of the family by his eldest son, Captain Thomas, and in the estate by his second son,

VIII. CAPTAIN JAMES WILSON, eighth of Balnain, of the Cheshire Regiment, at present Adjutant of the 4th Gordon Highlanders, Aberdeen. He married on the 24th of June, 1891, Edith, daughter of Andrew Knowles of Swinton Old Hall, Lancashire, colliery proprietor, with issue—

1. Andrew, born on the 21st of August, 1892; and

2. John, born on the 12th of May, 1894.

NOTE.—The following members of this family were named in General Simon Fraser's entail in 1774 :—William Fraser, V. of Balnain, who died without issue male; his nephew—not cousin as stated at pp. 558 and 560—William Mackinnon, eldest son of Dr Thomas Fraser of Antigua; Charles, second son of Dr Thomas; General Simon, who fell at Saratoga; and Charles, Commissary of Inverness, brothers of Dr Thomas, and their issue male, all now extinct except those of Dr William Mackinnon Fraser, who became V. of Balnain, and whose direct descendants are in possession of the family estate.

THE FRASERS OF LEADCLUNE.

I. HUGH FRASER, known as "Uisdean Og," second son of Hugh Fraser, commonly called "Uisdean Mor," son of Alexander, III. of Erchitt, by his second wife, a daughter of James Fraser, III. of Culduthel, was the first of this family. Uisdean Og's name first appears as of Wester Leadclune in 1679, having brothers Alexander and John then living, and again in the Valuation Roll of 1691 for the county of Inverness as "Hugh Fraser, Wester Leadclune" for £20. Hugh married Katherine, daughter of William Fraser, VIII. of Foyers, with issue—

1. Alexander, his heir and successor.

2. James, noticed in 1730. He was factor for Lord Saltoun over his Aberdeenshire estates.

Hugh died in 1717, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

II. ALEXANDER FRASER, second of Leadclune. Simon Lord Lovat, writing from Edinburgh on the 3rd of January, 1741, to Charles Fraser, V. of Inverallochy, says of this Alexander, of his eldest son, and of his brother William and his eldest son—"I send this under cover to one Hugh Fraser, Writer in Aberdeen, who is son to William Fraser that was once my servant in France, and was since Sir Peter Fraser's servant, and lives these many years in the lands of Drum. This Writer in Aberdeen has his uncle living in Stratherrick, my tacksman, one Alexander Fraser of Leadclune, as pretty and sagacious a gentleman for a Deulinach as is of his name. I have his eldest son (Hugh) serving me, who assures me that his cousin will send this letter safe to you."*

He married a daughter of MacIan Macdonald of Glencoe,

* *Spalding Miscellany*, vol. ii., p. 10. That these gentlemen were not "servants" in the ordinary sense of the term is abundantly clear from the account of Lord Simon's career given in the body of this work and the nature of the services rendered by them.

massacred with most of his clan by the Campbells in 1692. With her he had a tocher of sixteen horses and three cows, and had issue—

1. Hugh, his heir and successor.

2. William, who married first Jane Irvine, with issue—William, who lived at Drum. He married, secondly, Elizabeth Helen, daughter of William Ross of Monquithr, by his wife Elizabeth, of the family of Keith-Marischal, with issue, of whom presently.

3. James, "who perished in the discharge of his duty on the River Ganges as chief officer of the Fitzwilliam East Indiaman."

Alexander was succeeded by his eldest son,

III. HUGH FRASER, third of Leadclune, who, during his father's life, took an active part in the Rising of 1745, and was forfeited in consequence. He fought at Culloden and was severely wounded. He was specially exempted from the Act (20 George II., cap. 52) granting pardon to most of those who "were out" with Prince Charles for all treasons committed by them before the 15th of June, 1747. His estate was, however, afterwards restored to him.

That he married Isabel, daughter of William Fraser of Ruthven, and not Ann, as stated in the Leadclune pedigree of 1776 in the Lyon Office, is conclusively proved by the inscription on her and her husband's tombstone in Boleskine Churchyard quoted below, and erected a few years after their death. By her Hugh had issue—

1. Thomas, his heir and successor.

2. Alexander, the well-known solicitor of Lincoln's Inn, London, who died unmarried.

3. Katharine, who died, unmarried, in 1804.

4. Bella, who died unmarried.

5. Elizabeth, who also died unmarried, in 1808.

Hugh, who lived to a great age, was known as "Old Leadclune," and was highly respected during his long life. He died on the 16th of October, 1800, as stated by James Fraser of Gortuleg in a letter of that date to Alexander Macdonell, writer, Inverness, the family solicitor. His wife

predeceased him on the 12th of May, 1797. The following inscription is cut on a marble tablet inserted in the wall of the old chapel, long roofless, in the Churchyard of Boleskine :—

“Near to this spot, intermingled with the dust of their forefathers, are deposited the mortal remains of Hugh Fraser of Ledecune, Esq., who died on the 16th of October, 1800, in the 83rd year of his age. And of Isabel, his wife, who died on the 12th day of May, 1797, in the 70th year of her age. And also of their daughters Bella, Elizabeth, and Katharine, who all of them died unmarried. From respect of their memories, and in commemoration also of his youngest brother James, who perished in the discharge of his duty on the River Ganges as chief officer of the Fitzwilliam East Indiaman, this final tribute of filial and fraternal affection and regard is here placed, under the directions of Alexander Fraser of Lincoln's Inn, in the county of Middlesex, Esqre., in the year of our Lord MDCCCX.”

Hugh was succeeded by his elder son,

IV. CAPTAIN THOMAS FRASER, fourth of Leadclune, Lieutenant in the 71st Fraser Highlanders, embodied in 1775, and, subsequently, a Captain in the 78th or Seaforth Highlanders. He was appointed Barrack-Master at Fort-George. He sold the estate of Leadclune on the 4th of July, 1801, to Dr William Mackinnon Fraser of Balnain.

Captain Thomas married, with issue, sixteen children, of whom,

1. James, shot in a duel in India, without issue.
2. John, who died at Fort-George.
3. Alexander, who died on the passage out to India, unmarried.
4. Hugh, who married a daughter of Dr Macdonald.
5. Thomas, who married his sister-in-law, daughter of the same Dr Macdonald.
6. Simon.
7. Jane, who married J. Gollan of Gollanfield.
8. Harriet ; 9. Eleanor ; 10. Lexie.
11. A daughter who married a Mr Draper.

All the sons appear to have died without surviving male issue, when the representation of the family reverted to the cousin of Captain Thomas.

It will be remembered that Alexander Fraser, II. of Leadclune, had a second son,

WILLIAM FRASER, who was with Lord Lovat in France, and afterwards with Sir Peter Fraser of Durris, and who married, first, Jane Irvine, with issue—

1. Hugh Fraser, Writer in Aberdeen, mentioned in Simon Lord Lovat's letter to Charles Fraser, V. of Inverallochy, dated the 3rd of January, 1741, as "son to William Fraser, that was once my servant in France, and was since Sir Peter Fraser's servant, and lives these many years in the lands of Drum," in Aberdeenshire. Lord Simon knew all his relations, near and remote, and this letter must be held as conclusive that this William had issue—at least one son Hugh—by his first wife, Jane Irvine.

William married, secondly, Elizabeth Helen, daughter of William Ross of Monquithr, by his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Keith of the Keith-Marischal family, with issue—

2. Sir William Fraser, Baronet,* of whom presently; and
3. Jane, who, in 1763, married Colonel the Hon. Archibald Fraser of Lovat, with issue.

SIR WILLIAM FRASER, Baronet, Fellow of the Royal Society, entered the naval service of the Hon. East India Company, and commanded two of their ships—the "Lord Mansfield" in 1772, lost coming out of the Bengal River in 1773; and the "Earl of Mansfield" from 1777 to 1785. He afterwards entered the Royal Navy, where he rose to the rank of Post Captain. In 1797 he was appointed one of the Elder Brethren of the Corporation of Trinity House. On the 27th of November, 1806, he was created a Baronet. He married Elizabeth, only surviving child by his first marriage of James Farquharson of Eastbury, Dorset, with issue—

1. William, his heir.
2. James John, who succeeded his brother William.

* It is distinctly stated in his own petition to the Lyon Office, when he applied for the registration of Arms in 1776, that he is "an only son by a second marriage" with Helen, daughter of William Ross of Monquithr.

3. Keith, an officer in the Inniskilling Dragoons, who died unmarried on the 28th May, 1826.

4. Eliza Anne Roberta, who died on the 10th of November, 1865.

5. Jemima Maria, who in 1820 married the Rev. Joseph Henry Tayler, Canon of Worcester, with issue. She died his widow, on the 20th of October, 1877.

6. Anna, who on the 17th of January, 1818, married Colonel Hugh Edward Keane, third son of Sir John Keane, Baronet, and brother of John, first Lord Keane, with issue—Edward Vivian, deceased; and Fanny.

7. Jean Helen, who on the 17th of January, 1818, married, the same day as her sister Anna, John Grove, Fern House, County Wilts, father of Sir Thomas Grove, first Baronet, with issue, and died on the 8th of October, 1869.

8. Henrietta Sophia, who on the 31st of August, 1819, married James Montessor Standen, with issue, and died his widow on the 18th of April, 1870.

9. Eleanor Caroline, who died unmarried.

10. Maria Octavia, who on the 7th of July, 1825, married the Rev. H. Cockeran, of Beckenham, Wilts, without issue.

11. Elizabeth Amelia, who died in 1833, unmarried.

12. Emma; 13. Louisa; 14. Georgiana. All three unmarried.

Sir William died on the 10th of February, 1818, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

V. SIR WILLIAM FRASER, as second Baronet and fifth of Leadclune, on the death of the sons of his grand-uncle, Captain Thomas Fraser of the 78th Highlanders, without surviving male issue.

Sir William died, unmarried, in China, where he held the highest official appointment in the H.E.I.C.S., on the 23rd of December, 1827, and was succeeded by his next brother,

VI. SIR JAMES JOHN FRASER, third Baronet and sixth of Leadclune. He served in the 7th Hussars in Spain, was on the Marquis of Anglesea's staff at Waterloo, and attained

the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel of his regiment in 1826. He married Charlotte Anne, only child of Daniel Craufurd (son of Sir Alexander Craufurd, Baronet of Kilbirnie, county of Stirling, and niece of the distinguished Major-General Robert Craufurd who commanded the Light Division in the Peninsular War and was killed while gallantly leading it to the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo, and of Lieutenant-General Sir C. Craufurd, G.C.B., M.P.) By this lady Sir James had issue—

1. William Augustus, his heir.

2. Sir Charles Craufurd Fraser, K.C.B., V.C., born in 1829, Lieutenant-General in the Army, late Colonel of the 11th Hussars, Colonel-in-Chief of the 8th Hussars, and Aide-de-Camp to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief. He was on the staff of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; Inspector-General of Cavalry; and highly distinguished himself in India. He died unmarried.

3. James Keith Fraser, C.M.G., Lieutenant-Colonel 1st Life Guards and a Colonel in the army. He became Major-General and C.M.G. in 1886, and Lieutenant-General in 1893. Born in 1832, he entered the army at an early age, and had a distinguished military and diplomatic career. He served as Orderly Officer to Admiral Sir Rodney Mundy, G.C.B., on the expedition to Kinburn, at the mouth of the Dnieper, in 1855, and was present at its bombardment and surrender—an action for which he received the Crimean medal. He was present at the Italian War in 1860, and was present at several battles in the Franco-Prussian War. In recognition of his devoted services to the wounded on the field of battle in this campaign, he had a gold medal from the President of the French Republic. General Fraser was Adjutant-General and Quarter-Master-General at Aldershot in 1882-83, and Military Commissioner at Vienna, Bucharest, and Belgrade 1885-90 (having the Grand Cross of the Franz Josef Order of Austria). He was in command of the Dublin district in 1890-91, and since that date Inspector-General of Cavalry in Great Britain and Ireland. He

married, on the 10th of June, 1865, Amelia Alice Julia, eldest daughter of the Hon. Humble-Dudley Ward, son of William Humble Ward, tenth Lord Ward, and brother of the late William Ward, first Earl of Dudley, with issue—Charles Dudley, born on the 30th of September, 1866, and died in 1870; Keith Alexander, born on the 24th of September, 1867, Lieutenant in the 7th Hussars; Hugh Craufurd, born on the 3rd of April, 1869, Lieutenant in the 1st Life Guards; and a daughter, Helena Violet. He died on the 30th of July, 1895.

Sir James John died on the 5th of June, 1834, and his widow married, as her second husband, Sir Ralph Howard, baronet, M.P., of Clonmore Castle, first cousin of the Earl of Wicklow, and died on the 7th of May, 1867, without issue by this marriage.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

VII. SIR WILLIAM AUGUSTUS FRASER, fourth Baronet and seventh of Leadclune. He was born on the 10th of February, 1826, and was educated at Eton, and Christchurch, Oxford, of which he is M.A. He was a Captain in the 1st Life Guards; was elected M.P., in 1852 and 1857, for Barnstaple; and in 1863, for Ludlow. At the General Election of 1874, he was returned for Kidderminster, and continued to represent the constituency until the end of that Parliament in 1880. He is the author of "Coila's Whispers" (poems), "Words on Wellington," "Disraeli and his day," "Hic et Ubique," "Napoleon III.," and other popular works. He is one of the Queen's Body-Guard for Scotland, and unmarried.

THE FRASER-TYTLERS OF ALDOURIE.

I. WILLIAM FRASER, W.S., second son of Alexander Fraser, II. of Balnain, was the first Fraser of this family. He succeeded his brother, Hugh Fraser, as IV. of Balnain, and in 1754 acquired the lands of Aldourie by purchase from Captain Daniel Barbour. William married Jean, daughter of Archibald Macaulay, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, on record as his late wife in 1776, by whom he had three daughters, the eldest of whom,

II. ANNE FRASER, married in 1776, Alexander Tytler, Lord Woodhouselee, born in 1747, one of the Senators of the College of Justice and of the Commissioners of Justiciary, and she ultimately carried to him, as heir of entail of her father, both the lands of Balnain and Aldourie, whereupon her husband assumed the name of Fraser as a prefix to his own. The issue of this marriage were—

1. William Fraser-Tytler, who succeeded to the estates.
2. James Tytler, who succeeded to Woodhouselee. He was born on the 9th of October, 1780, and married Elizabeth, daughter of Maurice Carmichael of East End, Lanarkshire, with issue—(1) Alexander Tytler, a Lieutenant in the Royal Artillery, who was born on the 20th of June, 1811, and died, unmarried, before his father on the 14th of May, 1841; (2) Maurice William, a Lieutenant in the H.E.I.C.S., who also died unmarried before his father in 1837; (3) James Stuart Fraser-Tytler, who succeeded his father in Woodhouselee. He was born in 1820, and in 1850 married Mary Elizabeth, only child of Alexander Blair, a cadet of the family of Blair of Blair, with issue—James William Tytler, born in 1854; Mary Elizabeth; Katharine Anne; Emily Jane; and Alice Seton; (4) George Michael, born in 1822, and married, in 1864, Jane Geor-

giana (who died in 1871), daughter of George Skene of Rubislaw, Aberdeenshire, with issue—Maurice William Tytler, born in 1869, and Georgiana Mabel Kate. James Tytler died on the 10th of October, 1861. James Stuart Fraser-Tytler of Woodhouselee, died in 1891.

3. Alexander, who married, with issue, all of whom died young.

4. Patrick Fraser-Tytler, F.R.S.E., the well-known historian of Scotland. He was born in 1791, and married, first, Rachel (who died in 1835), daughter of Thomas Hog of Newliston, Midlothian, with issue—(1) Alexander, an officer in the Indian Army, who died unmarried; (2) Thomas Patrick, Major in the Indian Army, who married Emily Bingham, with issue—Alexander, Mary, and Jean who, in 1895, married H. Williams; (3) Mary Stuart, who died unmarried in 1887. Patrick, the historian, married secondly, Anastasia, daughter of Thomson Bonar of Campden Place, Kent, without issue. He died in 1849.

5. Jane, who on the 14th of September, 1823, married James Baillic Fraser, XIII. of Reelick, without issue.

6. Anne, who died, unmarried, on the 3rd of September, 1857, aged 75 years.

7. Isabella, who also died unmarried.

Lord Woodhouselee died in 1812, his widow having survived him until 1837. He was succeeded by his eldest son,

III. WILLIAM FRASER-TYTTLER, who was born in September 1777, studied for the law, was called to the Scottish Bar in 1799, and appointed Sheriff-Depute of Invernesshire, in succession to Simon Fraser, X. of Farraline, in 1810, an office which he held for the long period of forty-three years, during many of which he was also Vice-Lieutenant and Convener of the county. He performed the various and responsible duties of these important offices with great attention and ability. On the 10th of March, 1801, he married Margaret Cussans, only daughter and heiress of George Grant of Burdsyard, now Sanquhar, near Forres, with issue—

1. Alexander Fraser, born in 1803, a Lieutenant in the

H.E.I.C.S., who died unmarried, before his father, at Akyab, on the 4th of August, 1832.

2. George Fraser, born in 1807, a Lieutenant in the army, who also died unmarried, before his father, in 1836.

3. William Fraser, who succeeded his father.

4. Charles Edward Fraser, in the Madras Civil Service. He succeeded to Burdsyards, and ultimately to Aldourie.

5. James Macleod Bannatyne Fraser, C.B., who was born in 1821, Major-General in the military service of Bengal. He married Anne Langley, with issue—William and Margaret.

6. Elizabeth Fraser, born in 1802, and died, unmarried, in 1890.

7. Jane Anne, who, as his first wife, married Field-Marshal Sir Patrick Grant, Governor of Chelsea Hospital, who died in 1895, with issue—Charles, and Aldourie who died unmarried. She died in 1838.

8. Mary Fraser, who married Arthur Ruxton, son of William Ruxton of Ardee, Ireland, without issue.

9. Margaret Fraser, who married Thomas Ogilvy of Corriemoney, with issue. She died in 1850.

10. Christian Fraser, who married her brother-in-law, Charles Ruxton, with issue.

11. Emilia Isabella Frances Fraser, who married Richard Torin, born in 1799, with issue—Ernest, Lionel, and Anne.

Margaret Cussans, the mother, died on the 28th of February, 1862, at the age of 81 years.

William Fraser-Tytler died at Malvern, Worcestershire, on the 4th of September, 1853, aged 76 years, when he was succeeded by his eldest surviving son,

IV. COLONEL WILLIAM FRASER of Aldourie. He was born on the 12th of December, 1815, joined the army, became a Lieutenant-Colonel and Deputy Quarter-Master General in the Bengal Cavalry, had five war medals and seven clasps. He was subsequently Convener of the county of Inverness, and Lieutenant-Colonel of the Inverness Artillery Volunteers. He died, unmarried, on the 12th of September, 1878, when he was succeeded by his next brother,

V. CHARLES EDWARD FRASER-TYTTLER, then of Burds-yards. He was born on the 30th of December, 1816, and married, first, Etheldred St. Barbe, who died in 1851, with issue—

1. Etheldred, unmarried.

2. Christina Catherine, who on the 26th of September, 1871, married the Rev. Edward Thomas Liddell, rector of Wimpole, county of Cambridge, eldest son of Colonel the Hon. George Augustus Frederick Liddell, son of Sir Thomas Henry Liddell, Baronet of Ravensworth Castle, Durham, raised to the Peerage as Baron Ravensworth, on the 14th of July, 1821.

3. Mary, who married George Frederick Watts, R.A., without issue.

He married, secondly, on the 13th of July, 1852, Harriet Jane, second daughter of the Rev. George Pretymann, rector of Sherington and Prebendary of Lincoln, with issue—

4. Charles William, born in 1854, and died before his father, unmarried, in 1877.

5. Edward Grant, now of Aldourie.

6. William Theodore, born in 1861 and still unmarried.

7. Eleanor Dora, who married James, second son of George Kellie MacCallum of Braco Castle, Perthshire, with issue.

Charles Edward died in 1881, when he was succeeded by his elder surviving son,

VI. EDWARD GRANT FRASER-TYTTLER, now of Aldourie, late Captain Inverness-shire Militia. He was born on the 19th of July, 1856, and on the 15th of December, 1881, married Edith Adriana, daughter of Sir Charles Selwyn of Selwyn Court, Richmond, one of the Judges of the High Court of Justice, with issue—

1. Charles, born on the 28th of April, 1883, and died on the 7th of October, 1886.

2. Neil, born on the 29th of July, 1889.

3. Hester.

THE FRASERS OF GORTULEG.

I. JOHN FRASER, second son of Thomas Fraser, fourth of Farraline, was the first of this family. His name appears in the Valuation Roll of 1691, as "John Fraser, Gortuleg, for his wadset, £20." He married with issue at least two sons—

1. Thomas, his heir and successor.

2. James Fraser, in Mussady, described in 1733, as "brother german" of Thomas Fraser of Gortuleg. He married with issue—at least one son, Thomas, who succeeded his uncle in Gortuleg.

John died before 1696-97, for his eldest son,

II. THOMAS FRASER of Gortuleg in that year signs the letter addressed by the leaders of the clan to the Earl of Argyll. He was born in 1659. He is a witness to the Bond of Alliance signed by the Frasers of Foyers and the cadets of that family on the one hand, and the Mactavishes of Stratherrick on the other, dated the 5th of April, 1721, given at length under the Family of Foyers. "Hugh Fraser, nephew of Gortuleg," witnesses the same document. Thomas was a very prominent personage in 1745, and Lord Simon often refers to him in his correspondence with Lord President Forbes and others. Frequent reference to him will be found in the body of this work, especially during the period before and after the Battle of Culloden. It would have been already seen, p. 488, that he was excluded from the pardon granted to the great majority of the other Highland leaders engaged in the Rising. In 1753 Thomas Fraser the elder, and Thomas Fraser the younger, uncle and nephew, are mentioned. Thomas, the elder, married before 1738, Mary Shaw, without issue, and died at Gortuleg, on the 16th of April, 1756, at the great age of 97

years,* when in terms of a disposition by himself he was succeeded by his nephew, the son of his brother James,

III. THOMAS FRASER of Gortuleg. He is one of the substitutes named in General Simon Fraser's entail of 1774. He married, with issue—

1. James, his heir and successor.

2. Simon; and other sons.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

IV. JAMES FRASER, W.S., born in 1729. In 1780 he is designated "of Gortuleg." He married at Edinburgh on the 19th of January, 1769, Jean, daughter of Alexander Spalding of Holme, Kirkcudbrightshire,† with issue—

1. Thomas, his heir and successor.

2. Alexander, born on the 24th of August, 1773, and, like his father, bred to the law. He married Jane Henderson, who died on the 28th of February, 1848, and is described on her tombstone in the Grey Friar's Churchyard, Edinburgh, as the "widow of the late Alexander Fraser, of Gortuleg." He died before his brother Thomas, apparently without surviving male issue.

3. Simon, born on the 22nd of June, 1776. He also died before his brother Thomas, without issue.

4. James, who was born on the 4th of March, 1778, and succeeded his brother Thomas in the family estate.

5. Edward, a Captain in the H.E.I. Company's Madras European Regiment, born on the 1st of July, 1780. He married on the 25th of September, 1815, at Kingsmills, Inverness, Jane, fourth daughter of John Matson, of Wingham Court, Kent, with issue—(1) James, born on the 4th of July, 1816, at Mayfield, Inverness, and ultimately carried on the representation of the family; (2) Edward, born on the 19th of September, 1817, at Ness Cottage, Inverness. He was an Advocate at the Scottish Bar, and for several years Sheriff-Substitute of Sutherlandshire, at Dornoch. He married on the 19th of April, 1854, his cousin, Elizabeth Sarah, daughter of Captain Melville Gore Matson, of the 59th Regiment, without issue, and died on the 29th

* *Scots Magazine.*

† *Ibid.*

of December, 1855, aged 38 years; (3) Thomas Harvey, R.N., born on the 24th of February, 1819, at Ness Cottage, Inverness. He married at the Cape of Good Hope, Mary Anne Hawkins, without issue; (4) John, C.M.G., born on the 15th of June, 1820, at Ness Cottage, Inverness, now in the Mauritius, unmarried; (5) Hugh Alexander, an officer in the Indian Navy, born on the 9th of July, 1822, at Ness Cottage, Inverness. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sheriff Steele, Glasgow, with issue—three sons, James, Edward, and Hugh, and two daughters, Jane, and Dora; (6) Mary Anne, born on the 20th of March, 1824, at Heath Cottage, Inverness, and married, in 1852, Captain Thomas Anthony Swinburne, R.N., eldest son of General Swinburne, of Pontop, Durham, with issue—six sons, Thomas Robert, Spearman, James, John, Anthony, and Henry; (7) Jean Spalding, born on the 30th of November, 1825, at Heath Cottage, Inverness, and died on the 25th of June, 1845, aged 19 years, unmarried; (8) Elizabeth Katharine, born on the 16th of March, 1827, unmarried. Captain Edward Fraser, after he retired from the service, was for many years factor for Lady Saltoun, at Ness Castle. He was drowned in the Caledonian Canal, having fallen into it at Muirtown Locks, while landing from the steamer, on the 12th of April, 1827.

6. John, who was born on the 20th of July, 1783. He married Margaret, daughter of James Smart of Liberton Park, Dalkeith, with issue—(1) James, born on the 9th of January, 1812, and died the same year; (2) Alexander, born on 13th March, 1813, and married on the 15th of May, 1867, Elizabeth, eldest daughter of John Barbour of Bankhead, Renfrewshire, with issue—(a) John Herbert, M.A. of Cambridge, born on the 24th of July, 1870; (b) Alexander Thomas, B.A. of Cambridge, born on the 23rd of December, 1873; (c) Lydia Sybilla; (d) Margaret Helen; (e) Elizabeth Alice; and (f) Roberta Violet, who died on the 15th of August, 1892, in her tenth year. Alexander is still alive in his 83rd year; (3) John, born on the 1st of February, 1820. He was for many years the well-known

Manager of the Life Association of Scotland in Edinburgh, and married on the 29th of March, 1862, Susan Foulis, daughter of Major-General Thomas Webster of Balgarvie, county of Fife, with issue—(a) Alexander Edmund, M.A. of Oxford, born on the 12th of February, 1863. He is a barrister-at-law of the Inner Temple, and Second Secretary in Her Majesty's Diplomatic Service, at the British Embassy, Rome; (b) Thomas Oliver, born on the 21st of September, 1864; (c) John Bernard, born on the 27th of January, 1866; (d) Henry Francis, born on the 30th of November, 1872, Second Lieutenant, 5th Lancers; (e) Robert Webster, born on the 2nd of February, 1877; (f) Ada Susan; (g) Helen Agnes, and (h) Florence Margaret. John Fraser, died on the 30th of January, 1885, in his 64th year; (4) James, born in 1821, and died the same year; (5) Thomas, born in 1825, for many years London Manager of the Life Association of Scotland. He married in 1855, Frances Gillanders, who died in 1865, third daughter of John Moore of Willen Hall, Barnet, and Garden Reach, Calcutta, with issue—(a) Hugh, born on the 26th of April, 1860, M.A., and LL.D. of Cambridge, barrister-at-law of the Inner Temple. He married, in 1888, Ethel Mary, elder daughter of the late Rev. James Milne Hamilton, M.A., Vicar of Ridgmount, Bletchley, with issue—Mackenzie Hamilton, born on the 26th of November, 1889, and Margaret Hamilton; (b) John Alexander, solicitor, London. He was born on the 14th of December, 1861, and in 1890 married Gertrude Loma Macneill, third daughter of the late Henry Hyndman Kennedy of Shanghai and Nairn, with issue—Hugh Macneill, born on the 22nd of April, 1893, and Margaret Loma; (c) Francis Edwin, born 25th of May, 1864, agent for the Worsthorne estate, Lancashire; (d) Margaret Anne, who died in 1871, in her fifteenth year; (e) Anne Isabella, who died in infancy in 1859. Thomas Fraser married, secondly, in 1870, Gertrude, younger daughter of Charles Washington Lovegrove, of Tulse Hill, Surrey, with issue—(f) Keith, born on the 25th of September, 1871, B.A. of Cambridge;

(g) Leigh, born on the 25th of August, 1876; (4) Charles, born on the 11th of January, 1879; and Elspeth Louise. Thomas Fraser died in 1881, aged 56 years; (6) Helen, born in 1815, and died on the 5th of December, 1860, unmarried; (7) Margaret, a twin with her brother James. She, like him, died in infancy. Their father, John Fraser, died on the 6th of April, 1850, aged 67 years, his wife having predeceased him on the 20th of June, 1837.

7. Hugh, born on the 4th of April, 1792.

8. Janet, born on the 30th of December, 1786, and died, unmarried, on the 29th of February, 1837.

James Fraser of Gortuleg died from the effects of a carriage accident, which occurred at Tyndrum, Argyleshire, on the 30th November, 1805,* when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

V. THOMAS FRASER of the H.E.I.C.S. He was born on the 4th of March, 1771, and died unmarried at Masulipatam in 1823, when he was succeeded by his eldest surviving brother,

VI. JAMES BRISTOW FRASER, W.S., who was served heir to his brother Thomas on the 2nd of February, 1824. He sold the estate and died unmarried when he was succeeded as representative of the family by his nephew, the eldest son of Captain Edward Fraser,

VII. JAMES FRASER, who was born on the 4th of July, 1816, at Maryfield, and married on the 23rd of September, 1851, at St. John's Chapel, Inverness, Georgina Inglis, third daughter of Captain Thomas Cleather, H.E.I.C.S., and grand-daughter of George Inglis of Kingsmills, with issue—

1. Edward Cleather, who was born at Burnside, Mauritius, on the 26th of April, 1853.

2. James Alexander, M.R.C.S. and L.R.C.P., London. Born on the 11th of December, 1854, at Burnside, Mauritius, he married on the 12th of June, 1884, Helen Alves, daughter of General Chitty of the Bombay Staff Corps, with issue—Helen Alves, Georgina Marion, and Annie Cleather.

3. John Matson Currie, born on the 31st of January,

* *Scots Magazine*, for November, 1805.

1857, at Cascades, Mauritius, and married Flora, second daughter of Charles MacCulloch, without issue.

4. Thomas Guthrie, Lieutenant, R.N., a twin of his brother John Matson Currie. He served as Sub-Lieutenant in H.M.S. "Active," in the Naval Brigade during the Zulu War, and took part, among other actions, in the memorable defence of Etshowe, under Colonel Pearson. As Lieutenant, he served in H.M.S. "Superb" at the bombardment of Alexandria, and commanded a contingent at Tel-el-Kebir, and afterwards at Cairo. He has medals and clasp for Africa; for Egypt with two clasps; the Khedive's Star, and Medjidieh.

5. Hugh Stein, born on the 5th of March, 1863, at Cascades, Mauritius, now in Madras.

6. George Ireland, born on the 18th of July, 1876, at Blackheath, London, second Lieutenant, 7th Battalion Rifle Brigade.

7. Eric, born on the 18th of December, 1878, at Blackheath, at present a King's Scholar at Eton.

8. Georgina Jane, born on the 12th of May, 1859, and died young.

9. Helen Mary, born at Cascades, Mauritius, and died at Blackheath, on the 7th of February, 1875, in her eleventh year.

10. May Inglis.

11. Annie Violet.

12. Charlotte Rose.

13. Amy Georgina.

} Twins.

James Fraser died on the 7th of July, 1887, when he was succeeded, as representative of the family, by his eldest son,

VIII. EDWARD CLEATHER FRASER, a merchant in the Mauritius, where he was born on the 26th of April, 1853. He married, on the 4th of May, 1882, Mary Josephine, youngest daughter of the late Thomas Howie, merchant, with issue—

1. James Howie, born on the 4th of April, 1888.

2. Elsie Georgina.

3. Marjory Harriet.

THE FRASERS OF CULDUTHEL.

I. JAMES FRASER, first of Culduthel, was the third son, by his wife Katharine, fourth daughter of Hugh Rose, IX. of Kilravock, of John Fraser, "Ian Mac Alastair," II. of Farraline, whose father, Alexander, was third son of Hugh, third Lord Lovat, by Janet, daughter of Sir Alexander Gordon, brother of George, second Earl of Huntly. James was a posthumous child, his father having been killed at Blar-na-leine on the 15th of July, 1544, before James was born. Assuming, in the absence of any available public reference to his career, that he lived the allotted span of seventy years, he died about 1620, when he was succeeded by his son,

II. MALCOLM FRASER, designated in 1619 "of Ruthven," but in 1631 "of Culduthel," his wife being mentioned as Katharine Baillie of the Dunain family.

He was succeeded by his son,

III. JAMES FRASER, whose name appears as "James Fraser of Culduthel" in a copy of the Stent Roll of the parish of Inverness, dated the 31st of March, 1634, when he was appointed one of the Stenters, and in that capacity signs the document along with James Cuthbert of Drakies, Thomas Schivez, burgess of Inverness, and William Baillie, elder* He is entered in the Valuation Roll of the county of Inverness for 1644, at a rental for that place, in the parish of Inverness, of £325 10s; £181 6s 8d for lands in Boleskine and Abertarff; and £66 13s 4d in the parish of Kilmonivaig, all Scots money. In the same year he is mentioned as James Fraser, son to the umquhile Malcolm Fraser of Culduthel. He married Miss Forbes of Culloden, with issue—

1. Malcolm, his heir and successor.

2. John, whose name appears in a precept of poinding at the instance of James Dunbar, Bailie of Inverness, dated

* *Invernessiana*, pp. 144-5-6.

the 9th of December, 1698, for several sums of money arrested in the hands of three tenants of John Fraser of Errogie. He is described in the document as "John Fraser, son to Culduthel, in Bellinloan." In the bond of 1721 there is mentioned an Alexander, son of John Fraser in Bellaloin. John's nephew William, third son of Malcolm, is designated "of Balloan" in the marriage contract, dated 1731, of Robert Fraser, eldest son and successor of Major James Fraser of Castle Leathers.

3. A daughter, who married Hugh Fraser, III. of Erchitt, with issue—Hugh Fraser, I. of Balnain, and others.

James was succeeded by his elder son,

IV. MALCOLM FRASER, who is mentioned in a proclamation in 1678, ordering several heads of families and others to compear at Inverlochy on the 20th of November in that year, to give bonds for themselves, their tenants, and all of their name descended from their respective families. In this document he is described as "Malcolm Fraser of Culduthel." He appears under the same designation in the Valuation Roll for the county of Inverness in 1691, for Culduthel at a rental of £205, and for lands in Boleskine valued at £75, all Scots. It will be observed that the rent of Culduthel fell considerably since 1644, and that there is no reference in 1691 to the lands in the first-named year owned by the family in the parish of Kilmonivaig.

He married Anne, daughter of William Baillie, eighth of Dunain, with issue—

1. Alexander, his heir and successor.

2. Major James, first of Castle Leathers, of whose family presently.

3. William, who is one of the witnesses to and described in the marriage contract of his nephew Robert, son of Major James Fraser, first of Castle Leathers, as his uncle "William of Balloan," "Alexander Fraser of Culduthel" being designated Robert's other uncle.

4. John. Simon Lord Lovat, in 1697, sends a letter to his first wife, just after his marriage, "by the hand of John Fraser, brother of Culduthel," and in 1703-4 his

Lordship addresses a letter to "Alexander Fraser of Culduthel, or James or John, his brothers."

5. Hugh, who married a daughter of Murdoch Mackenzie, II. of Redcastle, widow of Alexander, son of William Fraser, VIII. of Foyers.

6. Katharine, who on the 29th of September, 1711, married James MacQueen of Corrybrough.

Malcolm was succeeded by his eldest son,

V. ALEXANDER FRASER of Culduthel, who was one of the signatories to the letter by Thomas of Beaufort and the principal gentlemen of the clan, to John Earl of Argyll, 1696-97, in which they declared their determination to defend themselves from the troops sent against the Frasers in consequence of the outrage perpetrated on the Dowager Lady Lovat and the capture of Lords Saltoun and Mungo Murray detailed at length at pp. 213-223.

Alexander appears to have been on very friendly terms with Simon of the 'Forty-five; for in the Letter of Advice which his Lordship wrote to the clan from London, on the 5th of April, 1718, when he thought he was at the point of death, Simon thus refers to him:—"To the lasting praise of Culduthel and his familie, I never knew himself to swerve from his faithful zeal for his chief and kindred, nor none of his familie, for which I hope God will bless him, and them, and their posterity." Alexander writes the following letter—the spelling modernised—dated "Culduthel, 20th November, 1729," to "Mr Alexander Monroe, Comissr. of Inverness":—

"Dear Sir,—I send you the enclosed copy at Joseph Mackintosh of Raigmore's instance against me for an alleged track brought into my bounds of five or six cows harvest last the time of our . . ., which track was lodged upon the highway, where a considerable drove of cattle passed some days before, and the very same track or the like was driven to other bounds, as my men can verify, though they cannot pointedly swear; yet I find one of the judges told me that he was sure I would be decerned. I told him he was too precipitate, and though they were cousins-german, yet he might find himself mistaken. I am resolved to advocate it. However, you will please appear for me, since I will be with you a day or two before

the second diet and then we will advise further about it. I offer my most humble duty to yourself and lady, and believe me to be, sir, your most affectionate humble servant,

(Signed) "ALEX. FRASER.

"P.S.—You will please send me the form of a mittimus, since I am to give in a thief next week to the Magistrates of Inverness to be secured in prison, since I am resolved to try him for his life or banishment."

The practice of "lifting" cattle even as late as 1729, was not uncommon, and the custom gave rise to several regulations. The principal feature of this practice was the system which grew up in connection with it of levying blackmail, already more than once referred to in the course of this work, and which, at this period, was tacitly sanctioned by the Government of the day. There was also a recognised rule by which, when cattle were stolen, it was made incumbent on the proprietor to whose lands the track was traced to clear himself of the offence by tracing them through his bounds to the property of his neighbours, while at the same time immediate notice to the authorities was insisted upon as necessary to clear himself of any suspicion or responsibility. This practice and these conditions will fully explain Culduthel's letter and its cause.

He married a daughter of William Mackenzie, III. of Belmaduthy, by his wife Elizabeth (who died in 1772), third daughter of Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, first Baronet and IV. of Scatwell, with issue at least two sons—

1. Alexander, his heir and successor.
2. Malcolm, "a son of Culduthel," who joined the Black Watch when that regiment was first formed in 1740. He attained to the rank of Captain and fought at the famous battle of Fontenoy in 1745, where, although defeated, the Highlanders covered themselves with undying glory. He was a Volunteer at Bergen-op-Zoom when, in 1747, it was besieged by Count Lowendhal at the head of a force of 25,000 men, as were also Colonel Lord George Murray, and several other officers of the Black Watch. Throughout this campaign Malcolm was accompanied by his foster-brother. When the regiment was sent with other troops to

attempt to raise the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, while they lay in trenches near the French lines, a party was ordered during the night to attack and destroy a battery occupied by the enemy. Captain Fraser was one of them, but there were no privates from the 42nd, and his ever present foster-brother had to remain in the trenches. Mrs Grant of Laggan gives the following interesting account of what followed :—

“The party left the trenches with the utmost silence and secrecy ; but from the utter darkness and their imperfect knowledge of the ground, became confused and so bewildered that they knew not exactly where to proceed. Fraser of Culduthel, the officer already mentioned, in the act of getting over the remains of an enclosure which stopped his path, felt his feet entangled in something. Putting down his hand to discover the cause he caught hold of a plaid and seized the owner, who seemed to grovel on the ground. He held the caitiff with one hand, and drew his dirk with the other, when he heard the imploring voice of his foster-brother. ‘What the devil brought you here?’ asked Culduthel. ‘Just love for you and care for your person.’ ‘Why so, when your love can do me no good, and has already done me evil, and why encumber yourself with a plaid?’ ‘Alas ! how could I ever see my mother had you been killed or wounded, and had I not been there to carry you home to the Surgeon, or to Christian burial ; and how could I do either without my plaid to wrap you in?’ Upon enquiry it was found that the poor man had crawled out on his hands and knees between the sentinels, then followed the party at some distance till he thought they were approaching the place of assault, and then again crept in the same manner on the ground beside his master that he might be near him unobserved.”*

Captain Malcolm, who was unmarried, was killed a few days afterwards in August, 1747, by a cannon ball as he was looking over the trench to view the approach of the enemy.

Alexander died before the 12th of May, 1737, for on that date, Lord Simon, in a letter to Sir James Grant, in which he refers to James of Castle Leathers, mentions his brother of Balloan, and his *nephew* Culduthel. It is of course obvious that James’s nephew could not have been described

* *Superstitions of the Highlanders*, pp. 190-92, vol. ii.

as "Culduthel," until after his brother Alexander, V. of Culduthel's death.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

VI. COLONEL ALEXANDER FRASER, described as "of Culduthel" in 1745, and he is again on record as such in 1757 and 1769. He married his cousin Lillas, only daughter of Roderick "MacIan" Chisholm, XXI. of Chisholm, by his second wife, Isabel, second daughter of Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, Baronet, and IV. of Scatwell, with issue—

1. James, his heir and successor.

2. Roderick, a Colonel in the H.E.I.C. Service, born on the 5th of May, 1763. He died unmarried.

3. Simon, a Captain in the same service, born on the 17th of March, 1767, and killed in a duel in India, unmarried.

4. Grizell, who was born on the 4th of November, 1752, and married the Rev. Alexander Grant, minister, first of Daviot, and subsequently of Cawdor, who died in 1828, aged 84 years, 65 of which were in the ministry. He is mentioned by Boswell in Dr Johnson's *Tour to the Hebrides*. By Grizzel of Culduthel he had issue—(1) the Rev. James Grant, minister of Nairn, who married Christiana, daughter of John Mackintosh, Midcoul, with issue—four sons and one daughter. Three of the sons died unmarried, and the other was the late distinguished Colonel James Augustus Grant, C.B., of Nile celebrity, who was born on the 11th of April, 1827, and married Margaret Lawrie, with issue—(a) James Augustus Grant; (b) Alister; (c) Mary; (d) Christian; and (e) Margaret. The Rev. James Grant's only daughter, Margaret, married the late Rev. Dr Peter Mackenzie, Ferintosh, Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, whom she still survives, without issue; (2) George Grant, who married Robina, daughter of the Rev. Dr Alexander Rose, minister of the High Church, Inverness, without issue; (3) Ann, who married Captain William Fraser of the 92nd Gordon Highlanders, and subsequently of the 6th Royal Veteran Battalion, stationed at Fort-George, with issue—(a) Alexander, who died unmarried;

(*b*) George Fraser, a merchant in Liverpool, who also died unmarried; and (*c*) the late Robert Fraser of Brackla, who married Mary, daughter of Robert Gordon of Croughly, Banffshire, with issue—a son William Alexander, who died unmarried; Mary Ellen, who married Frederick Jerdein, a merchant in China, without issue; Anne Georgina; Robina Gordon, who married Lieutenant-Colonel Colin George Lorn Campbell, Senior Ordnance Officer of the North British headquarters, Edinburgh, who died on the 15th August, 1890, leaving issue—a son Charles William, and a daughter Isla Gavine; and Emily Forbes; (*d*) Anne, who married Alexander Mackintosh, a Culcutta merchant, now resident in London, with issue—three sons and a daughter; (*e*) Grace, who died unmarried; (4) Grace, who married John Mackintosh of Firhall, county of Nairn, with issue.

5. Isabella, who was born on the 24th of June, 1758, and married the Rev. Dr Alexander Fraser, minister of Kirkhill (son of the Rev. Donald Fraser, Tutor for many years to the sons of Simon Lord Lovat, subsequently parish minister of Killearnan, and afterwards of Ferintosh), with issue, four sons and five daughters—(1) the Rev. Donald Fraser, who succeeded his father in Kirkhill, and married Jane, daughter of Robert Gordon of Drakies, with issue, four sons and five daughters—(*a*) the Rev. Alexander Fraser, first appointed minister of Cawdor, and next as his father's successor in Kirkhill, where, in 1843, he was one of the ministers who came out as one of the founders of the Free Church. He died, still in that charge, in 1883, unmarried; (*b*) Peter Gordon Fraser, Colonial Secretary in Tasmania. He (who died in 1891) married Mary, daughter of John Bisdee of that colony, with issue—two sons, the elder of whom, Donald Alexander, M.D., Totnes, Somersetshire, married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward Penny Trenchard, Blackheath, with issue—Alexander Edward Gordon, and Gladys Gordon. The younger son, Græme, is a Surgeon practising his profession at Weston Super Mare, county of Somerset. He married Fanny, daughter of

James Austin, of Geelong, Australia, and Glastonbury Abbey, Somerset, with issue—Alister James Gordon, who died aged nine years, and Athalie Mary Gordon. Peter Gordon Fraser had also three daughters—Geraldine, who died in infancy; Athalie, who died at the age of 17 years; and Maude, who married Alfred Horace Lovibond, of Ashdown, with issue—two sons, one of whom died in infancy. (c) Donald, who married Jessie, daughter of Robert Mackenzie, Borgie, with issue—Robert, a missionary in the New Hebrides; Alexander and Boyce, engaged in business in Edinburgh; Hector, a licentiate of the Free Church; and two daughters, Isabella and Jane, both unmarried; (d) the Rev. Hector Fraser, now Free Church minister of Halkirk, county of Caithness, who married Anne Montgomery, daughter of the Rev. Charles Ross Matheson, minister of Kilmuir-Easter, Ross-shire, with surviving issue—Hector Charles Fraser, in business in India, who married Caroline, daughter of Thomas Rae, with issue—a son and daughter; John Edward Fraser, in the United States of America, unmarried; Millicent, who married John Sinclair Gunn, Sibster, Caithness, with issue, two sons and three daughters; and Caroline Shaw, Anna Matheson, and Mary Isabella, all three of whom are still unmarried; (e) Liliass, who married John Fraser, Provost of Inverness, with issue—Alexander Fraser, who emigrated to Coburg, Ontario, Canada, where he married Mary M. Torrance, of Montreal, and at his death left a numerous family; the Rev. Donald Fraser, D.D., for many years minister of the Free High Church, Inverness, and afterwards of the English Presbyterian Church, Marylebone, London. He married Theresa, daughter of General Gordon, Royal Engineers, with issue—four sons, Ernest Gordon Fraser, engineer, in the Indian Civil Service, married to Florence King; Alfred William Fraser, an engineer in Queensland; Theodore Fraser, an officer in the Royal Engineers; Frederick John Fraser, an officer in the army; and an only daughter, Theresa, who married John Beatson, of Buenos Ayres. Liliass and Provost John Fraser's third son was the Rev. William Fraser, minister of St. Bernard's

Free Church, Edinburgh, subsequently of Brighton. He married Margaret, daughter of John Playfair, Glasgow, with issue—Jane, who married Alexander Coldstream, M.D., of Florence; Margaret Evangeline, who married John Roxburgh, barrister-at-law, London; and Florence, and Selina, both unmarried. Their fourth son was John Fraser, a missionary in Persia, who died at Bagdad, unmarried; and their only daughter Jane, married James Torrance, merchant, Montreal, with issue; (*f*) Isabella, who married John Black, manufacturer, Glasgow, with issue—a son James, who was killed in the Maori war, in New Zealand, unmarried; and a daughter, Lily, who married Henry Dickson, Melbourne, with issue—two sons and three daughters. Mrs Black still survives and resides in Inverness. (*g*) Mary, who married the Rev. John Grant, minister of Petty, and subsequently of the Free Church, Roseneath, with issue—three sons and three daughters—Donald, who married Alice Brush, with issue—a son and daughter; and died in America; Edmund, in business in Montreal, and still unmarried; John, who died in Boston, U.S.A., also unmarried. The three daughters, Jane, Mary, and Millicent, are still unmarried; (*h*) Jane; and (*i*) Millicent, the other two daughters of the Rev. Dr Donald Fraser, both died unmarried. The other three sons of the Rev. Dr Alexander Fraser of Kirkhill and Isabella Fraser of Culduthel died unmarried. Their eldest daughter, Lillias, married the Rev. James Maclauchlan, minister of Moy, Inverness-shire, with issue—a son Alexander, who became a Doctor, and died in India. Their other four daughters died unmarried. Dr Alexander Fraser himself died in 1802, aged 53 years. His eldest son and successor in Kirkhill, the Rev. Donald Fraser, died at the same age in 1836.

6. Jean, who was born on the 6th of August, 1764, and on the 27th of May, 1786, married the Rev. Roderick Morison, minister of Kintail, with issue—Alexander Morison, who was born on the 24th of April, 1787. He entered the army and died in Java, unmarried, on the 29th of July,

1812; (2) William Morison, born on the 10th of August, 1790, and died in Demerara, unmarried on the 15th of May, 1814; (3) the Rev. James Morison, who was born on the 24th of May, 1798, and succeeded his father (who died on the 14th of April, 1826, his wife, Jean Fraser, surviving him until the 29th of January, 1830), as minister of Kintail. The Rev. James married in 1838, Johanna, daughter of Lachlan Mackinnon of Corry, Isle of Skye, with issue—(a) the Rev. Roderick Morison, born on the 31st of July, 1839, and succeeded his father, on his death on the 19th of January, 1882, aged 84 years, as minister of Kintail, having been admitted his colleague and successor in 1878. He is now in that charge. He married Janet Alexander; (b) Alexander William, born on the 14th of August, 1844, and died on the 4th of January, 1851, in his seventh year; (c) Anne, who married William Dick, without issue, and is now a widow residing at Greenhill, Inverness; (d) Jane, unmarried; (4) Roderick, who was born on the 16th of May, 1804, and was first a farmer in Scallasaig, Glenelg, and subsequently at Aigas, Strathglass, where he died unmarried on the 6th of May, 1870; (5) Mary, who married Alexander Mackenzie, V. of Kernsary, with issue—Roderick, a planter in Demerara; Alexander, who died lately in Lincoln; the Rev. Hector, late minister of Moy; Davidson, a squatter in Australia; Wilhelmina, who married Alexander Mactavish, Town Clerk of Inverness; Maria, residing at Inverness, unmarried; and Jean Fraser, who married William Murray, tacksman of Kilcoy. For their issue see Mackenzie's *History of the Mackenzies*, new edition, pp. 520-521; (6) Millicent, who died on the 3rd of March, 1879, unmarried; (7) Grace, who died unmarried, on the 9th of January, 1881; and Lillas, who married the Rev. Farquhar Maciver, minister of Glen-shiel, and died without issue, on the 19th of August, 1877.

Colonel Alexander was succeeded by his eldest son,

VII. CAPTAIN JAMES FRASER, who was served heir to his father in 1774. He is one of the substitutes in General Simon Fraser's entail in that year. He married with issue—

1. James, his heir and successor ; and several other sons. He died in 1783, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

VIII. COLONEL JAMES FRASER, who was born in 1756, and was served heir to his father, Captain Alexander, in 1783. He was a very distinguished officer, serving for a long time in America and in the East Indies. On his retirement he built the present Culduthel House. His name appears as one of the grantees in the Charter to the Royal Academy of Inverness, dated the 6th of March, 1793. He married Millicent, only child of John Mackay of Ravenhead, Lancashire, and only son of John Mackay, merchant, Inverness, by his wife Miss Barbour of Aldourie. By Millicent Mackay Colonel Fraser had issue—

1. Philip Affleck, his heir and successor.

2. Alexander, a Lieutenant-Colonel in the army, who was born in 1791, and married Louisa Burton, with issue—two sons, Francis and Henry, both Majors in the army, retired ; and three daughters. He died, at Rugby, on the 24th of February, 1857.

3. John, a Captain in the Royal Navy. He was born in 1793 and married Caroline Edwards, with issue—five sons and two daughters, all unmarried. He died in 1861.

4. James, C.B., a distinguished military officer in the H.E.I.C.S., who was born on the 9th of October, 1800. He joined in 1817. On the 26th of October, 1827, he was appointed Captain in the 2nd Regiment of Bengal Light Cavalry. Sir John Kaye, speaking of the disaster in Afghanistan, when in a charge against the whole cavalry of Dost Mohammed the British officers were deserted by their Sepoy soldiers—not more than twenty, including officers, having advanced to the charge—says that “Captains Fraser and Ponsonby, whose gallantry has never been surpassed even in the annals of old Roman heroism, still live to show their honourable scars, and to tell with mingled pride and humiliation the story of that melancholy day.”* Fraser was appointed Major in the British Army on the

23rd of November, 1841, and Brigade-Major at Bareilly on the 24th of July, 1846. On the 7th of September in the same year, he had the 3rd class Order of the Douranee Empire conferred upon him; on the 4th of October, 1842, he was made a C.B.; and on the 12th of January, 1848, was appointed Honorary Aide-de-Camp to the Marquis of Dalhousie, Governor-General of India. It is said of him that "in appearance he was every inch a soldier. He was nearly six feet and a half in height, well proportioned, and of an erect military bearing." He was commonly known in the North as "the long Colonel." He died, unmarried, in Edinburgh, on the 2nd of June, 1868, and was buried in the Churchyard of Boleskine, his funeral being very largely attended as a mark of respect to his distinguished career and great personal qualities.

5. Elizabeth, who died in 1892.

6. Millicent, who in 1815, married William Mackintosh of Aberarder.

7. Lilies, who on the 16th of February, 1811, married Lieutenant-General Sir John Rose of Holme Rose, K.C.B., and died at Upton Park, Slough, in May, 1855, at the age of 65 years. They had issue—John Nugent Rose, who died unmarried; and the Rev. Francis Rose, late of Holme Rose.

8. Elizabeth, who died unmarried.

9. Frances, who also died unmarried in 1859.

10. Anne, who died unmarried in 1879.

11. Jane, who married Henry Stewart of St. Fort, County of Fife, and died in London. They had issue—Robert Balfour, who died unmarried, and James Affleck, who married in Canada, and had an only daughter.

Colonel James died in 1816, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

IX. PHILIP AFFLECK FRASER, who was born on the 15th of March, 1787. In 1844 he sold the estate of Culduthel to James Evan Baillie of Kingussie. He was one of the greatest sportsmen and keenest anglers of his day, and was for many years Convener of the Northern Meeting.

On the 10th of June, 1816, he married Jane Anne Catherine, daughter of Edward Satchwell Fraser, XII. of Reelick, having just entered on her twentieth year, with issue—

1. James, born in March, 1817, and died in infancy in February, 1818.

2. James, born in 1820.

3. Edward, born in January, 1822, and died unmarried in 1848.

4. Affleck, born in April, 1827, a Captain in the Bengal Horse Artillery, who died at Malta on the 17th of January, 1870, unmarried.

5. William, born in December, 1828, and died unmarried, on the 2nd of March, 1850.

6. Alister, born in September, 1830, and died at Edinburgh, unmarried, on the 20th of June, 1870, then described as the youngest surviving son of the late Philip Affleck Fraser of Culduthel.

7. John Donald, born in February, 1838, and died in infancy in 1839.

8. Jane, who married Hugh Fraser, fifth son of William Mackinnon Fraser, V. of Balnain, with issue. She died in 1879.

9. Millicent, who died, unmarried, in 1873.

10. Mary, for several years considered one of the beauties at the Northern Meeting balls. She married, in 1848, John Macdonald, a Surgeon in her Majesty's Indian Army, with issue—three daughters. He died in Lucknow during the siege.

11. Georgina, unmarried.

12. Frances Elizabeth, who on the 4th of September, 1852, married Montague James White, of the Indian Army, with issue—two sons and one daughter, all three now residing in Canada. She died in 1894.

13. Catherine Amelia, unmarried.

Philip Affleck Fraser died on the 4th of September, 1862, when he was succeeded as representative of the family of Culduthel by his eldest surviving son,

X. JAMES FRASER, who was born in 1820, and in 1841 married Emma Jane, daughter of Colonel Owen Gray, of her Majesty's service, with issue—

1. Philip Affleck, born in 1845, now of Reelick.
2. James Owen Baillie, born in 1858. He went to India, where he still remains, unmarried.
3. Edward William, born in 1861, and died in 1891, unmarried.
4. Mary Emma, married, with issue.
5. Jane Catherine, married, with issue.
6. Millicent, who died in infancy.
7. Margaret Isabel, who died, unmarried, in her seventeenth year.

On the death of James Fraser in 1888, he was succeeded as heir-male of Culduthel by his eldest son,

XI. PHILIP AFFLECK FRASER, now of Reelick, who was born in 1845. His grandmother, Jane Anne Catherine Fraser (who succeeded to Reelick on the death of her brother James Baillie Fraser), gave over the estate to him during her life, in 1879. He is a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society and a member of the Institution of Civil Engineers, having been actively engaged since 1870 in the laying and construction of railways at home and abroad. He has worked in Mexico, Venezuela, the Argentine Confederation, Bolivia, Peru, and the West Indies, besides reporting on schemes at the Cape, in Italy, Spain, France, and Greece. He married in 1889 Augusta Zelia, eldest daughter of William Frederick Webb of Newstead, Notts, with issue—

1. Phyllis Mary.
2. Violet Mabel.

THE FRASERS OF CASTLE LEATHERS.

I. MAJOR JAMES FRASER, second son of Malcolm Fraser, III. of Culduthel, by his wife Anne, daughter of William Baillie, eighth of Dunain, was the first of this family. He is best known from his intimate connection with Lord Simon of the Forty-five, the leading incidents of which are fully detailed pp. 294-463 in the long account of that chief's career. It will be remembered that Major James was chosen by the principal men of the clan to proceed in 1714 to France to plead with Lord Simon to return home and take possession of the family estates, which he succeeded in doing. He was Major in Lord Simon's Battalion engaged in the Government service, after his return from France, in 1715, he having received his commission from Brigadier-General Sir Alexander Grant, who was at the time Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Inverness. He does not appear ever to have served in the regular army. At the disarming in 1716 he gave up 36 guns, valued at £8 2s 2d; 30 swords, valued at £5 17s 6d; and one pair of pistols, valued at 10s, being a total sum of £14 9s 8d. Lord Simon and he occasionally had very serious differences. His Lordship refers to the earliest of these in his Letter of Advice to the clan, written in 1718 from London and already referred to under Culduthel, when he thought he was dying. His Lordship says—

“I did faithfully design and resolve to make up and put at their ease Alexander Fraser of Phopachy, and James Fraser of Castle-ladders and their families; and whatever disputes might be between them and me, which our mutual hot tempers occasioned, joined to the malice and calumny of both our enemies, I take God to witness

I loved both those two brave men as I did my own life for the great zeal and fidelity they showed to their chief and kindred."

In October, 1756, he was examined in certain proceedings regarding the entail of the Balnagowan estates, when he said that he was then 86 years of age. He recollected being in the office of James Baillie, Town Clerk of Inverness, the year after the battle of Killiecrankie, and remembered that David Ross of Balnagowan was then named Governor of Inverness through the Earl of Sutherland, on account of his clan and following, "though he was but a weak man himself." Balnagowan, however, only occupied the position for ten days, Sir James Leslie, who came up with a regiment of regular troops, having superseded him.

Major James married Jean—Lord Lovat calls her Janet—daughter of Sir Robert Dunbar of Grange Hill, now Dalvey, near Forres, with issue—

1. Robert, his heir.

2. James, of Mavis Bank, subsequently residing at Nairn. He married, with issue—four sons, who all died without issue, the only one who survived him being Simon, a Lieutenant-Colonel in the East India Company's Service, and he died without issue at Drumduan, near Forres, on the 24th of September, 1845, aged 65 years.

Major James had also several daughters, eleven children in all. He died at Inshoch Castle in 1760, aged 90 years, when he was succeeded as representative of the family by his elder son,

II. ROBERT FRASER, of Kinnudie. He married in 1731 (marriage contract dated the 16th and 30th January), Elizabeth, second daughter of John Dunbar of Kilflitt, with issue—

1. James, his heir.

2. Margaret, who married her cousin, Alexander Dunbar of Kilflitt.

3. Primrose, who married Daniel Ross of Cluniemore. He was succeeded by his only son,

III. COLONEL JAMES FRASER of Kincorth, near Forres, first a Captain in the 98th Regiment. He sold out, bought

Kincorth, and subsequently became second Lieutenant-Colonel of the Fraser Fencibles, which regiment he commanded in Ireland on the occasion of the French invasion, during the Irish Rebellion of 1798. He married in November, 1772, Jean, eldest daughter of Alexander Mackay of Auchmony, Glenurquhart, with issue—

1. James, who was drowned at sea, unmarried, having been lost with his vessel, belonging to the East India Company in 1807 in the Indian Ocean.

2. Robert, who became the representative of the family.

3. Ann, who married Captain David Urquhart, of the Fraser Fencibles and subsequently Paymaster of the 72nd Highlanders, with issue. She died on the 5th of October, 1847.

4. Jane, who married Richard Annesley, of Ballysax House, Kildare, Ireland.

5. Margaret, who married Captain Duncan Cameron, of the Fraser Fencibles.

6. Mary, who first married a Mr Seely, and secondly Dudley Joynt, a brother of her sister's second husband, who had changed his name from Joynt to Annesley on succeeding to the Ballysax property.

Colonel James Fraser of Kincorth died at Kinsale in 1805, when he was succeeded as representative of the family by his younger and only surviving son,

IV. COLONEL ROBERT FRASER, K.H., who was born in 1784, and joined his father in the Fraser Fencibles in 1797 as Ensign without pay. In January, 1801, he was transferred as Ensign to the 72nd Highlanders, on bringing 50 volunteers to that regiment. He was present with the 72nd at the capture of Cape of Good Hope in 1805. In 1808 he was promoted to a company in the 83rd, and went through the chief battles and sieges of the Peninsular War with that regiment. In 1825 he was appointed Fort Major in Jersey, and in 1837 made a Knight of Hanover. In 1838 he obtained his Lieutenant-Colonelcy. In 1846 he resigned his Staff appointment at Jersey, which he held for nearly 22 years.

He married in November, 1813, Sarah Forbes, daughter of Dr James Macleod, descended from the family of Geanies, by his wife, a daughter of William Duff of Muirtown (born in 1707 and died in 1782), near Inverness, with issue—

1. James, his heir, of whom presently.

2. Robert Walter Macleod, the present representative of the family.

Colonel Robert died at Hounslow in 1847, when he was succeeded as representative of the family by his elder son,

V. SIR JAMES FRASER, K.C.B., who was born at Bath on the 30th of September, 1814. He entered the army by joining the 35th Regiment in 1831, became its Commanding Officer, and Lieutenant-Colonel. In 1854 he exchanged to the 72nd; in 1856 he attained the rank of full Colonel; and shortly afterwards retired from the service. In 1863 he was appointed Commissioner of Police for the City of London, and continued to hold that important position until he resigned in 1890, having filled it for the long period of 27 years. He married in April, 1849, Louisa, daughter of James Wilson, Chief Justice of the Mauritius, with issue—two daughters, both of whom predeceased him unmarried, Louisa, the eldest, in 1881, and Margaret in 1887. He was made a C.B. and afterwards a K.C.B.

He died in London in April, 1892, aged 78 years, when he was succeeded as representative of the Frasers of Castle Leathers by his only brother,

VI. GENERAL ROBERT WALTER MACLEOD FRASER, now residing at 12 Norfolk Crescent, Hyde Park, London. Born at Kensington on the 15th of December, 1815, he entered the army from Sandhurst in July, 1833, by joining the 6th Regiment. He attained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in 1857, having raised the 2nd Battalion of his regiment; became full Colonel in 1862; exchanged from the 6th Regiment in 1863 to a Depot Battalion which he commanded until 1870. On reduction of the Depot Battalion he was appointed Assistant-Adjutant-General in Scotland, which office he held from October 1870 to April,

1873; and he afterwards commanded the Brigade Depot at Warwick until he was promoted to Major-General in 1875, subsequently anti-dated from 1868. He became a Lieutenant-General in 1880; Honorary General in 1881, and was appointed Colonel of the Royal Dublin Fusiliers in 1891, from which he was transferred to the Colonelcy of the Royal Irish Regiment on the 8th of January, 1895. He saw a good deal of active service both in India and the Cape.

He married on the 10th of June, 1846, Martha Tinné, fifth daughter of Samuel Sandbach of Hafodunus, county of Denbigh, Wales, ex-Mayor of Liverpool, with issue—

1. Robert Hugh, who was born at Booterstown, near Dublin, on the 20th of February, 1851, a Major in the 48th Regiment, still unmarried.

2. James Robertson, born in Liverpool on the 25th of January, 1855, and died at Shorncliffe on the 25th of December, 1867.

3. John Randal, born at Gibraltar on the 3rd of January, 1859, Major in the 47th Regiment. On the 12th of March, 1895, he married Claribel Maud, daughter of Henry George Meakin of Riverside, Kirkee, Bombay, with issue—a son, born at Poona, India, on the 12th of December, 1895.

4. Mary Macleod, unmarried.

THE FRASERS OF CULBOKIE AND GUISACHAN.

I. WILLIAM FRASER, first of this family, was the second son of Thomas, usually styled fourth Lord Lovat. He was originally designed of "Tigh-a-Charsa," anglicised "Teachors." He received the lands of Guisachan as his patrimony from his father, and appears as William Fraser "of Guisachan" as one of the witnesses to a contract of excambion between John Mackenzie, IX. of Kintail, and Dingwall of Kildin, dated the 20th of June, 1543. He married, with issue, among several other sons—

1. Hugh, his heir and successor.

2. James, who in a bond of manrent, dated in 1578, is described as James Fraser "*in* Belladrum, brother german to Hucheon Fraser of Guisachan." His son Hugh became first of Belladrum, having received a charter of it from Simon the eighth Lord on the 13th of June, 1598.

3. Agnes, who, in 1546 (marriage contract dated the 1st of June in that year), as his third wife, married John Mor Grant of Tomantoul, first of Glenmoriston, eldest son of John Grant of Freuchie, usually styled the "Bard Ruadh," from his being a poet and red-haired. She is designated in a sasine of Culcabock, dated the 7th of August, 1546, "*honesta mulier Agnea Fraser, filia Gulielmus Fraser de Guisachan.*"

William was killed in 1554 at "Blar-nan-leine," when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

II. HUGH FRASER, second of Guisachan, from whom the family is called "Mac Uisdean." In 1556 he is served heir to the following lands in the county of Ross:—Culbokie, Kinkell-Clarsach, Dochcairn, Davochpollo, and Pitlundie. In 1561 he is found pursuing "John Tawachter vic Eachin," John Tuach Mhic Eachainn (third son of Hector Roy Mac-

kenzie, I. of Gairloch), and Christina his wife, Alexander Roy Mackenzie's daughter, for the wrongous and masterful occupation of an oxgang and a half oxgang of the lands of Davochpollo, and through his procurator, Sir James Buchart, who appears for him in court, he gets a decree in absence. On the 21st of March, in the same year, he is defender in an action at the instance of John Robertson, Treasurer of Ross, and pursuer in a suit against George Dunbar, minister of Kilmuir. In 1562 he is fined for not putting in an appearance at an assize for serving Hector Mackenzie, III. of Gairloch, as heir to his father, John Glassich Mackenzie, II. of Gairloch. In the same year he is found pursuing his tenants in Culbokie for non-payment of their rents and warning them out of their holdings, Rorie Allanson being one of the chief delinquents. On the 15th of October, 1563, Hugh Fraser of Guisachan served as one of the jury at Inverness before James Earl of Moray, Sheriff Principal of the county, in the service of John Campbell of Cawdor in the barony of Strathnairn, there being also present, among others, Kenneth Mackenzie, X. of Kintail, Alexander Ross of Balnagown, Robert Munro of Fowlis, Hugh Rose of Kilravock, William Fraser of Struy, and Alexander Chisholm of Comar. In 1574 he sold Davochcairn and Davochpollo to John Roy Mackenzie, IV. of Gairloch, and in 1581-82 the lands of Kinkell-Clarsach and Pitlundie. "It is found from an old inventory that there was a charter of alienation by Hugh Fraser of Guisachan, dated the 29th of May, 1582, from which it appears that John Roy, in 1574, acquired Davochcairn and Davochpollo in Strathpeffer from this Hugh Fraser, and that in the first-named year he obtained from him also the lands of Kinkell-Clarsach and Pitlundie, in terms of a contract of sale dated the 26th of January, 1581. The charter is confirmed by James VI. in 1583."* In 1581 he obtained a charter of Culbokie mill. On the 23rd of April, 1583, Hugh Fraser of Culbokie and William Fraser, IV. of Foyers, were in trouble with Simon eighth Lord Lovat,

* *History of the Mackenzies*, new edition, p. 405.

and they had to give his Lordship security not to interfere with his woods of Strathglass, nor with the Water of Forne, by killing red or black fish, or deer, and that they should follow his standard. Reference is made in the bond to Hugh's three sons, William, Alexander, and Hucheon. Culbokie signs his name, but Foyers cannot write and has to get the assistance of a Notary Public.

Hugh, between 1574 and 1584, alienated all the Ross-shire lands (except Culbokie) which he inherited from his uncle, James Fraser of Foyness, who, on the 7th of June, 1539, has a charter of the King's lands of Drumderfit in the lordship of Redcastle, and on the 25th of October, 1542, two years before his death at Kinlochlochry, another to himself and his heirs-male, from James V., of the lands of Culbokie, Kinkell-Clarsach, Davochcairn, Davochpollo, and Pitlundie, all in the county of Ross. The destination being to heirs-male, Foyness' only daughter, Agnes, did not succeed to them on his death. They reverted to his nephew, Hugh, II. of Guisachan.

There is an obligation by Hugh Fraser of Guisachan, dated at Holyrood House on the 23rd of April, 1585, as caution for William Fraser of Foyers and others, and also by Foyers as cautioner for Guisachan and his three sons—"William, Allaster, and Hucheon Fraser," and others, that they shall desist from trespassing on the feu lands and living belonging to Simon Lord Lovat; from his woods, fishings, and deer; from cutting the woods of Strathglass, and various other practices in which they apparently indulged to the loss and annoyance of his Lordship. The document will be found quoted at greater length pp. 127-128, under Simon, eighth Lord Lovat. There is another caution in the same year by Hugh Fraser of Guisachan and others in favour of William Fraser of Struy and all his dependants.

On the 5th of May, 1585, Colin Càrn Mackenzie, XI. of Kintail, is denounced a rebel by the Privy Council on the complaint of this Hugh Fraser of Guisachan under the following circumstances. Hugh complains that a certain

"John Dow Mac Allan was lawfully denounced his Highness' (the King's) rebel and put to the horn at the said Hucheon's instance for not removing from the half davoch land of Kilboky pertaining to him, conform to a decree obtained by the said Hucheon against the said John Dow Mac Allan." Upon this decree Hugh Fraser raised letters of caption, by deliverance of the Lords of Session, to charge the Sheriff of Inverness and other judges in the country where the said John resorts, to take, apprehend, and keep him conform to the order observed in such cases. In this process, in order to obtain the decree with "letters in the four forms, executions and denunciations thereof," and then raising of the said letters of caption thereupon, the complainer "has been put to great travel and expenses, having his habitation by the space of eight score miles or thereby distant from the burgh of Edinburgh." Nevertheless Colin Mackenzie, "to whom John Dow Mac Allan is tenant, servant, and special depender, maintains and assists him in his violent occupation of the complainer's lands, keeps him in his company, receives him in his house, and otherwise delates him that he cannot be apprehended," so that all the proceedings of the complainer Fraser are frustrated. Colin was thereupon charged to present Mac Allan before the Privy Council, under pain of rebellion, and failing to appear, or to present John Dow, and the complainer having appeared personally, an order was pronounced denouncing Mackenzie a rebel.*

Hugh married Margaret Munro of Milntown who, on the 29th of May, 1597, is as his widow served to her terce in Culbokie. By her he had issue, at least three sons and one daughter—

1. William, named in the deed of security to Lord Simon of Lovat in 1583, but he died, unmarried, before his father.
2. Alexander, his father's successor.
3. Hugh, who succeeded his brother Alexander.
4. Janet, who married, first, Thomas Chisholm, apparent of Chisholm, afterwards XV. of Chisholm, without issue.

* *History of the Mackenzies*, second edition, pp. 168-69.

On the 12th of April, 1578, on the occasion of her marriage, she is infest in the davoch and mill of Wester Invercannich. Mr Fraser-Mackintosh says of her—"This marriage did not long subsist, and Thomas Chisholm dying without issue, Janet, with consent of her father Hugh, and designing herself 'life-rentrix of Wester Invercannich,' enters into a contract of marriage with Patrick Grant of Glenmoriston, who therein bound himself to infest her in his lands of Culcabock, etc. The contract was not registered, so that after Patrick's death it was found necessary to apply to the Court of Session for that purpose. Steps were taken against John Grant of Glenmoriston, son and heir of Patrick Grant, John 'Reoch' and James MacCulloch, his tutors and curators; and upon 1st August, 1593, the Lords of Council decerned that registration be made in their books. She was served to her terce in Glenmoriston on 31st July, 1587. Janet Fraser was left in peace in her jointure lands of Invercannich by her brother-in-law, John Chisholm, and had questions with some of the Glenmoriston tenants. As regards Culcabock, however, as early as 22nd of April, 1583, she, with Lachlan Mackinnon, then her spouse, is called on as pretended life rentrix of Culcabock in the Court of Session to show her right." Janet's second and third marriages followed upon each other very quickly, all three within five years, between 1578 and 1583.

5. Agnes, said to have married Alexander Bayne of Tulloch.

Hugh died in 1587, when he was succeeded by his second and eldest surviving son,

III. ALEXANDER FRASER, third of Guisachan, who is served heir to his father in the lands of Guisachan on the 16th of April, 1588. On the following day, the 17th of April, he placed himself under the care of friends as guardians and interdictors, on the statement that he was "facile" and therefore incompetent to manage his own affairs. These guardians were Thomas Fraser, I. of Knockie and Strichen, James Fraser, his uncle in Belladrum, Andrew Munro of Newmore, and others. He is

retoured to Culbokie on the 10th of June, 1589, and infest on a precept from Chancery on the 23rd of May, 1590. At Milntown, on the 2nd of June in the same year, nine days after his retour, he granted a disposition of his whole estates to his younger brother Hucheon Fraser, who afterwards, on the 2nd of February, had his title confirmed by James VI. Notwithstanding these transactions he continued to be described as "Alexander Fraser of Guisachan." He is certainly so designated in the service of John Chisholm, XVI. of Chisholm, to his brother Thomas and his father Alexander, on 19th of December, 1590. He is one of the arbiters in a deed of submission between Simon Lord Lovat and John Grant of Freuchie, dated the 13th of September, 1599. On the 11th of October in the same year he enters into a bond of caution for £1000 for John Munro of Pitonoche (? Pittonachty, now Rosehaugh), and John Munro of "Easter Half of Dauache" for 500 merks not to harm or molest John Dunbar of Avoch. The bond is subscribed at Kingillie, on the date named, in presence of Hucheon Fraser, "apparent of Foir," William Fraser of Culmiln, and Alexander Maclachlan in Drumchardiny, and is registered in Edinburgh by Alexander Livingstone on the 17th of the same month.*

Alexander married and had issue, among several others—

- i. A son, who married and also had a son,
- ii. James Fraser, who settled at Kinmylies, parish of Inverness, when his relative Colonel Hugh Fraser of Kinnerries acquired that barony from Hugh tenth Lord Lovat, in 1648. He married and had at least,
- iii. A son, who married and had a son,
- iv. Alexander Fraser. He, like his forbears, lived on the estate of Kinmylies, at Achnabodach, now Charleston. He married, in 1694, Marie Monro, with issue—three sons, the two elder of whom joined in the Rising of 1715, were taken prisoners, and transported to the American plantations. They ultimately settled in South Carolina, where several of their descendants thereafter occupied prominent positions as

* *Records of the Privy Council*, vol. vi., pp. 626-27.

merchants in Charleston. This Alexander on the 28th of September, 1711, received from the Town Council of Inverness for a money payment an acquittance for himself and his posterity for ever of the payment of toll on the old stone bridge of Inverness. His youngest son,

v. William Fraser, born 1716, lived on the estate of Dunain. Having, in 1760, married Mary Macrae, a native of Kintail who came to reside in Kirkhill, he died on the 29th May, 1806, in the 90th year of his age, his wife surviving him until the 31st of October the same year. They left issue—one son,

vi. Alexander Fraser, born in 1764. He was extensively engaged in salmon fishing and was well and popularly known among Highlanders as "An t-Iasgar Bàn." His work on the "Natural History of the Salmon, with an account of Greenland," published in 1833, in which he was assisted by the late Dr Robert Carruthers, Inverness, was well spoken of. He was tenant of Dochnalurg, on the Dochgarroch estate, and married on the 22nd of December, 1820, Marjory, daughter of Captain Alexander Mackintosh, of the family of Borlum, with issue—(1) and (2) Alexander and William, both of whom died unmarried; (3) Mary, who married Daniel Macfarlan, Procurator-Fiscal for Renfrewshire, with issue, of whom only one son, Eneas Mackintosh, survives, residing in the Province of Nova Scotia; and (4) Charles Fraser, of whom presently. Alexander died at Dochnalurg on the 9th of February, 1834, his widow surviving him until the 10th of November, 1865, when she died at Inverness in her 80th year. They were succeeded by their only surviving son,

vii. Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, born at Dochnalurg on the 5th of June, 1828. He was bred to the law, and admitted a Procurator at Inverness, on the 25th of May, 1853, where he very soon made for himself a name and a good position at the head of a highly respectable firm having an extensive and lucrative practice. In 1857, on the death of his maternal uncle, Eneas Mackintosh, an officer in the Royal Navy, he, in terms of his relative's settlement, assumed

by Royal warrant the additional name of Mackintosh. In the same year he entered the Town Council of Inverness, and rendered excellent service to the community until he retired in 1862. In 1860 he was appointed Captain of the 4th Inverness Company of Rifle Volunteers and continued to occupy that position until he resigned in 1870. In 1861 he was one of the four public-spirited men, who, from their private resources, built that fine thoroughfare, Union Street, Inverness. In 1863 he purchased the estate of Drummond, and in 1864 that of Ballifeary, both now populous and important suburbs of Inverness. In 1867 he retired from the legal profession when he was entertained to a public dinner by the citizens. In the spring of 1874 he was elected as an Independent candidate Member of Parliament for the Inverness Burghs, by a majority of 255 votes over his opponent. He was continuously re-elected until 1885, when he gave up his seat and stood for the County of Inverness, again as an Independent candidate, when he polled nearly as many votes as the two party candidates against him put together. At the general election of 1886 he was returned unopposed, and he sat for the county until the end of that Parliament in 1892. His labours on behalf of his countrymen—their social amelioration, their language and literature—inside and outside the House of Commons would, to do it justice, require a volume. So much was this appreciated that during his Parliamentary career he was known as “The Member for the Highlands.” But perhaps the most important part of all his public services and the most far-reaching in its results was the manner in which he secured the appointment of the Royal Commission of 1883, presided over by Lord Napier and Ettrick, to enquire into the condition of the crofter and rural population of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland and the unparalleled services which he subsequently rendered to his countrymen as one of its members.

But he has also been a diligent and successful student and worker in another scarcely less important field. He is the most erudite antiquarian in the North of Scotland, and he

has been making very good use of his knowledge and opportunities. His *Antiquarian Notes*, published in 1865, is a valuable addition to the literature of the Highlands, and it is in such demand by the book buyers, that it now sells at five times its original cost. This work was followed in 1866 by *Dunachton Past and Present*, now very high-priced and difficult to procure; and in 1875 he issued *Invernessiana*, a contribution towards a history of the town and parish of Inverness, from 1160 to 1599. In 1890 *Letters of Two Centuries*, which originally during a period of four years passed through the *Scottish Highlander*, were issued in their present permanent form; and the author of these valuable volumes is at present engaged on another important work connected with the county of Inverness, which is passing through the columns of the same newspaper and will, probably, in due time be published in a handsome volume. Only last year appeared from his pen *The Last Macdonalds of Isla*, an admirable and beautifully got-up contribution to the history of that branch of the great Somerled race.

He married on the 12th of July, 1876, Eveline May, only child of Richard David Holland of Brooklands, Surrey, and of Kilvean, Inverness, by his late wife Helen, daughter of John Macgregor, for many years of Charter House Square, London, without issue.

Alexander of Guisachan was succeeded in the family estates in terms of the transactions above detailed by his younger brother,

IV. HUGH FRASER, fourth of Guisachan. On the 6th of October, 1608, he was one of the jury in the special service of Simon eighth Lord Lovat. He added considerably to the family estates in Inverness-shire. Since 1524 the lairds of Mackintosh had been proprietors of the barony of Drumchardiny in the parish of Kirkhill and of certain parts of the barony of the Aird, including the half davoch of Kinnerries, and the lands of Easter Eskadale in the parish of Kiltarlity. In 1616, Sir Lachlan Mackintosh found himself obliged, in consequence of his struggles with Huntly and Lochiel, to sell his Aird estates, and Simon Lord Lovat,

having heard of his intention, instructed Hugh of Guisachan and Hugh Fraser of Belladrum to come to terms with Sir Lachlan for the property to be sold by him. But instead of purchasing it for him they did so for themselves, a piece of sharp practice which naturally very much annoyed his Lordship. It was arranged that Hugh of Guisachan should take Drumchardiny, of which he obtained a Crown charter dated the 20th of December, 1616, while Hugh of Belladrum took Holm, now Lentrane, and got a charter for it on the same day. Hugh's name appears in 1621 in an agreement entered into by several of the Inverness and Ross proprietors for the protection of "deer, doe, and roe," but he does not sign the document, while the signature of his son and successor, William of Drumchardiny, though he is not named in the body, is appended to it.* He is one of the jury in the general service of Simon, eighth Lord Lovat, to his great-great-grandfather Thomas, fourth Lord Fraser of Lovat, on the 9th of July, 1629.

A recent writer, referring to the transaction by which Hugh obtained possession of his brother's lands and later on of the barony of Drumchardiny, says of the first transaction that "a more cruel and barefaced impetration, sanctioned by relatives, cannot be quoted," and of both that "to Hugh's credit or discredit it has to be recorded of him that he disinherited his brother and circumvented his chief."

He married Katherine, second daughter of John Roy Mackenzie, IV. of Gairloch, with issue—

1. William, his heir and successor.
2. Alexander, on record in 1636.
3. Colonel Hugh Fraser of Kinnerries, who married Christian Baillie of Dunain, and whose descendants in the male line have become extinct, as will be seen in the sequel. He greatly distinguished himself in the Swedish army; and is on record as having accompanied the Master of Lovat and his lady to Stratherrick in 1642.

4. A daughter, who married Patrick Grant, IV. of Glenmoriston, with issue—John Donn, who carried on the

* This contract is printed at length in the *History of the Chisholms*, pp. 52-54.

succession of that family; a daughter Lillias, who married Alexander Grant of Shewglie; and others.

Hugh was succeeded by his eldest son,

V. WILLIAM FRASER, variously designated of Guisachan, Culbokie, and Drumchardiny. He has a charter from Hugh, ninth Lord Lovat, of Guisachan, Kingillie, Kyllachy, Groam, and others, on which he was infeft on the 23rd of May, 1634, and three days after, on the 26th of the same month, he is served heir to his father in the lands held by him of the Crown—Culbokie, Drumchardiny, and others. On the 26th of July, 1640, he is one of the jury in the special service of Hugh, Master of Lovat, to his brother Simon, Master of Lovat, who died on the 20th of March in that year; and on the 30th of March, 1647, he acts a similar part in the service of Hugh, tenth Lord Lovat, as heir to his father Hugh, Master of Lovat, who died in Edinburgh in 1643, and to his grandfather Hugh, ninth Lord, who died on the 16th of February, 1646.

In 1636, Hugh, ninth Lord Lovat, disposes of the lands of Comar-croy in favour of William of Guisachan, who was duly infeft in the same and had a Crown charter of confirmation. He is witness to a contract of marriage dated the 17th and 20th of October, 1640, between James Grant of Freuchie and his sister Ann on the one part, and Kenneth Mackenzie, VI. of Gairloch, on the other.

In the Valuation Roll of 1644 for the county of Inverness William Fraser of Culbokie appears for lands in the parish of Wardlaw, now Kirkhill, valued at £565; in Kiltarlity, at £736; and in the parish of Urquhart, county of Ross, at £219 3s 4d; while his mother is entered in Logie-Wester, also in Ross-shire, for a rental of £318 13s 4d, and Hugh Fraser in Culbokie, probably his eldest son, for £50. The "goodwife of Culbokie" appears under Kiltarlity for £88.

In 1646 he acquired additional rights to the lands of Kingillie, which now form part of the estate of Newton, belonging to Thomas Ramsay Biscoe, from Sir James Fraser of Brea, then Tutor of Lovat.

In 1649, 1650, and 1651, William represented the county

of Inverness in the Scottish Parliament. He lived for several years after this, but the date of his death has not been accurately ascertained.

There is a contract of sale between Hugh, tenth Lord Lovat, with consent of his Tutor, Sir James Fraser of Brea and others, of Easter and Wester Kinmylies, Ballifeary, Abriachan, the mill of Bught, the fishing of Freschott on the Ness, and other subjects, and Colonel Hugh Fraser of Kinnerries on the 20th of January, 1647, now described "of Kinmylies," and he has a charter of confirmation on the 23rd of August following. He has also a charter under the Great Seal of the same lands on the 24th of May, 1648. He fought under Cromwell with the rank of Major and highly distinguished himself at the head of his regiment of Dragoons at the battle of Marsden Moor on the 2nd of July, 1644. He is supposed to have made the money during these wars which enabled him to buy so much landed property. On the 3rd of May, 1645, the day before the battle of Auldearn, the Colonel embarked with his wife, Christian Baillie, at Inverness, for London in the largest ship ever built in the Highland Capital.* It would seem that he had then just married, for his son Hugh was still a minor in 1665.

In the latter part of February, 1649, Colonel Hugh Fraser of Kinnerries, along with Thomas Mackenzie of Pluscardine, Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty, and Colonel John Munro of Lemlair, at the head of a considerable force, took possession of the town of Inverness, expelled the garrison, and razed the walls and fortifications to the ground, in co-operation with Montrose. The party was formed in Moray, and in reference to it and the taking of Inverness, John Cumming of Relugas, writing to James Grant of Grant from that place on the 26th of February in the same year, says—"I doubt not but your honour has heard of the intaking of Inverness by the Lairds of Cromarty, Pluscardine, Lemlair, Colonel Fraser, and their adherents, and the flocking of men of all sorts to them."†

* *Wardlaw Manuscript.*

† *Chiefs of Grant*, vol. ii., p. 85.

Hugh, second of Kinmylies, son of Colonel Hugh Fraser of Kinnerries, who married Barbara, daughter of Alexander Mackenzie, VI. of Gairloch, is retoured to these lands as heir in special to his father on the 16th of April, 1650, and on the 22nd of May following the same Hugh is served heir to the lands of Kinnerries. On the 26th of May, 1676, Hugh feued the mill of Bught to Thomas Chevis of Muirtown. In 1678 the estates appear to have become much encumbered, when Alexander Fraser, apparently a brother of Hugh, is found in possession. He sold Kinmylies to David Polson and others, the sasine to Polson bearing date the 11th of January, 1688. The Kirk Session of Inverness on the 19th of November, 1689, confirms a disposition of one of the two pews belonging to Alexander Fraser of Kinnerries in the New Kirk of Inverness in favour of David Polson, residenter in the town. He had already disposed of his other pew to Hugh Baillie, Sheriff-Clerk of Ross.

It appears from a Notarial Instrument dated 12th of June, 1696, that by letters of alienation of 10th June, 1695, Alexander Fraser of Kinnerries, with consent of David Polson of Kinmylies, resigned into the hands of the Lords of her Majesty's Treasury and Exchequer in favour of Ludovick Grant of Grant, his heirs male and assignees whatsoever, heritably and irredeemably the town and lands of Easter and Wester Abriachan with the grazings and shielings thereof commonly called Corriefoness and Corrie-hulachy and all other rights that the said Alexander Fraser, Catherine Fraser his spouse, his deceased father and brother, and Agnes and Christian Fraser, grandchildren of the deceased Colonel Hugh Fraser, sometime of Kinnerries, possessed to these lands.* The marriage contract between Alexander of Kinnerries and Catherine Fraser is dated the 19th of June, 1628, and is in possession of Colonel Alexander Warrand of Bught and Ryefield.

William of Guisachan married Christina, daughter of Alexander Chisholm, XVII. of Chisholm, by his wife,

* *Chiefs of Grant*, vol. iii., p. 484.

Margaret, daughter of Alexander Mackenzie, V. of Gairloch, with issue—

1. Hugh, his heir and successor.

2. Alexander, to whom and his wife his brother Hugh in 1672 granted a lease of Kyllachy, a detached piece of land in Kiltarlity, for 1000 merks Scots for thirty or sixty years, or so long as their heirs should please. Alexander married Isobel, daughter of Alexander Fraser of Reelick with issue—William, who married Katharine, eldest daughter of Thomas Fraser, III. of Boblainy (marriage contract dated the 7th of April, 1705), with issue—Hugh, who in January, 1742, disposed the lands to his first wife, Isobel, daughter of William Fraser of Teanacaille, in life-rent and to his children in fee, should he have any. His wife, however, died without issue and he married, secondly, Grizel, daughter of Hugh Fraser in Kiltarlity, nephew of Thomas Fraser, III. of Boblainy, and disposed the lands to her on the same conditions as to his first wife, on the 10th of January, 1769. But having had no issue by Grizel Fraser either he, on the 21st of June, 1774, disposed the lands to her brother William, son of Hugh Fraser in Kiltarlity and brother of Thomas Fraser, senior, of St. Vincent. Grizel had also a sister Katharine, who married Alexander Fraser, Inchrory. In 1797 Thomas Fraser, of St. Vincent, disposes the same lands to William Fraser, X. of Guisachan.

3. Agnes, who married first, Kenneth Mackenzie, II. of Inverlael, without male issue.* She married secondly, Alexander Mackenzie, I. of Ballone (sasine on contract of marriage in 1629), with issue—Alexander, his heir and successor; Jean, who in 1663, married the Hon. Simon Mackenzie of Lochslinn, brother of Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, with issue—Simon, I. of Allangrange; and Margaret, who married first, Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Findon, fourth son of Alexander Mackenzie, I. of Kilcoy, with issue.† She married thirdly, as his second wife, the Hon. Simon Mackenzie, of Lochslinn (marriage contract

* *History of the Mackenzies*, second edition, p. 523.

† *Ibid.*, p. 573.

dated at Kingillie the 12th of January, 1650), with issue—Kenneth Mor Mackenzie, I. of Dundonnel, and two daughters—Isobel, who, in 1673, married Murdoch Mackenzie, VI. of Fairburn, with issue—his heir and successor and three other sons; and Elizabeth, who married the Rev. Roderick Mackenzie, Laird of Avoch, with issue.

4. Magdalen, who married Captain John Mackenzie, II. of Ord, with issue—Thomas, his heir and successor, another son Kenneth, and four daughters. The marriage contract is dated the 21st of July, 1633, the tocher being 2500 merks Scots.*

5. Margaret, who married Thomas Fraser, II. of Eskadale (marriage contract dated at Beaul, 6th of February, 1660), with issue.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

VI. HUGH FRASER, sixth of Guisachan, who in 1643 as "Younger of Culbokie" attended the funeral of Hugh Fraser, Master of Lovat, who died in May of that year in Edinburgh, and was buried in the Chapel of Holyrood. He was served heir to his father in the lands held of the Crown on the 12th of April, 1670. During his own and his father's time the family became much involved in debt, bonds of caution, and otherwise, with the result that all their estates in the counties of Ross and Inverness were adjudged by Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Findon (whose wife, Margaret of Ballone, was Hugh's niece), and others, and in 1672 Sir Roderick obtained possession of the Ross-shire lands, his eldest daughter, Lillias, who married Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, IV. of Scatwell in 1688, carrying them to that family in 1693, on the death of her only brother. In 1676 he is infeft in the lands formerly the property of Mackintosh of Mackintosh, acquired by his grandfather, as already shown, in 1616. In 1676 and 1677 Alexander Fraser of Kinnerries and James Fraser, first of Dunbolloch, adjudged the barony of Drumchardiny, the lands of Kingillie, and others, belonging to Hugh, but he retained possession of Guisachan until his death in the

* *History of the Mackenzies*, second edition, p. 529.

following year. Alexander and James Fraser received charters of adjudication of the lands of Kinnerries and Dunballoch respectively, and like those of Culbokie they passed away from the Frasers of Guisachan for ever.

Hugh married Agnes, daughter of Thomas Fraser, IV. of Struy, with issue—

1. William, his heir and successor, and at least two other sons.

He died in June, 1678, and was succeeded by his son,

VII. WILLIAM FRASER, seventh of Guisachan. He is said to have had a most precarious hold of these lands, now the only remaining portion of the once extensive family estates. "Kinnerries and Dunballoch in 1669 transacted their respective interests in the former Culbokie lands, and Kinnerries raised a loan, whereupon, his heir being unable to pay when the money was repayable, all the interests were in 1711 adjudged. A charter of adjudication following was the foundation of the right whereby Thomas Fraser, second of Dunballoch, sneeringly described by Culbokie in a memorial dated 1790 as 'bred a vryter in Edinburgh,' and by Simon Lord Lovat as 'a little knave of a Fraser,' entered into possession of what is now known as the Newton Estate. Had Culbokie been in a position to redeem or purge the adjudication the amount would be a trifle compared to the value of the share of the estate even at that period. Alexander Fraser of Kinnerries, who had then got into difficulties himself, behaved well to Culbokie, for he disposed Guisachan to William Fraser eldest lawful son of William Fraser of Culbokie, to which he had right by Charter of Resignation, on the narrative of 'the love and favour I have and bear to William Fraser, son and heir of William Fraser of Culbokie, as the apparent stock of the family whereof I am descended and the vigorous inclinations I have to raise and uphold that family,' by disposition dated at Lovat on the 6th of April, 1706, in presence of David Polson of Kinmylies, Hugh Fraser his (own) son, and John Chisholm of Knockfin. There is a curious reservation of half the woods so long as Kinnerries

or his heirs male held any lands in the county, assignees, however, being excluded."* Hugh Fraser, the son here referred to, and apparently the last heir male of Kinnerries, married at Aberdeen on the 22nd of December, 1724, "Lady Margaret Lesly, lawful daughter of the deceased Count Lesly of Balquhyn" (marriage contract in possession of Colonel Alexander Warrand of Bught and Ryefield).

William appears in the Valuation Roll of 1691 for Guisachan alone, which is entered at a rental of £379 5s, his mother as "the relict of Kilbokie" appearing in the parish of Kiltarlity for £96. At this date there is no trace of any lands in Ross-shire. The decline of the family in the space of forty-seven years, between the Rolls of 1644 and 1691, is most striking, the rental in the former being £1888 16s 8d as compared with £475 5s in the latter.

William was involved in the outrage of 1696-97 by Simon of the 'Forty-five on the Dowager Lady Lovat, and his name appears as the third signature to the letter addressed by the gentlemen of the clan to the Earl of Argyll touching their position at that period in consequence of their misconduct, Thomas of Beaufort signing himself "Lovat," and Thomas of Struy alone coming before William; and he is one of those sentenced to death and forfeited in absence for his share in that outrage by the Court of Justiciary on the 6th of September, 1698.

There is a letter among the Atholl papers, dated May, 1698, addressed to the Marquis and signed "S. Fraser" regarding William of Guisachan, in which the writer says—

"Since I wrote last to your Lordship, Culbokie has made application to the Governor of Beaufort, and he, upon security of his appearance at Dunkeld, or wherever your Lordship will be pleased to call him to, has granted him protection. He seems to be very sensible of his error, and faithfully promises in time coming to be very steadfast to my Lady Lovat's interests. He gives a very dismal account of his Highland friends."

He married, with issue—

1. William, his heir and successor; and other children.

* Mr Fraser-Mackintosh in the *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, vol. xviii., p. 316.

He lived to a very old age, and was succeeded by his son, VIII. WILLIAM FRASER, eighth of Guisachan, who had already when quite young received a charter of the lands from Alexander Fraser of Kinnerries on the 6th of April, 1706, as formerly stated. He therefore naturally, though his father lived for many years after this, took a most active share in the management of what remained of the family estates. He was one of the heads of families who in 1714 signed the well-known address from the Highlands to George I. He redeemed a wadset which John Chisholm, II. of Knockfin, had over Mid-Guisachan and which had come by progress to Alexander Fraser of Kinnerries, from whom he obtained his charter of the Guisachan and other remaining family possessions, and he subsequently acquired the lands of Fanellan, the property of the same Alexander Fraser, who, as also his only son Hugh, was dead by 1741, when the male line of Kinnerries became extinct.

William, who acted as judicial factor in the ranking and sale of the remainder of the Kinnerries estates, is excused from accounting for the rents of Fanellan and the quarter lands of Kiltarlity for 1744 and 1745 on the plea that "the multures of the miln of Fanellan were during the time of the late rebellion for the said two years, as well as the hail rents, carried off and destroyed."

His son William is included as "Younger of Culbokie" in the list of insurgents to be prosecuted after the 'Forty-five, the charge against him being that he served as "Captain of the Frasers under Inverallochie" at the battle of Culloden, but he was afterwards pardoned under the Act of Indemnity (20 Geo. II., cap 52) passed on the 15th of June, 1747. The mansion-house had, however, in the meantime been set fire to and burnt by Cumberland's troops, although its occupant, old Culbokie, had kept out of the Rising, and both for a time became fugitives to save their lives.

He married Margaret, daughter of John Macdonell of Ardnabi, by his wife Mary, a daughter of Glengarry. She was well known for her poetical talents, her accurate

knowledge of Gaelic and of Highland music, and made a prominent figure in the Ossianic controversy of the time. Bishop John Chisholm, a native of Strathglass, in reply to queries addressed to him by Sir John Sinclair regarding the Douay Gaelic MS., refers to her as follows:—

“Mrs Fraser of Culbokie spoke of the manuscript to me on my return to Scotland and told me she had taught Mr Farquharson (the compiler of it) to read the Gaelic on his arrival in Scotland, in which his progress in a short time exceeded her own. She likewise had a large collection of which she read passages to him when he could scarcely understand the Gaelic, and which escaped his memory since; the manuscript was in fine large Irish characters, written by Mr Peter Macdonell, Chaplain to Lord Macdonell of Glengarry after the Restoration, who had taught Mrs Fraser and made such a good Gaelic scholar of her; she called this collection a *Bolg Solair*.”

The Rev. Father Farquharson, who lived for thirty years in Strathglass, scarcely knew any Gaelic when he went there, but he was greatly assisted in acquiring a knowledge of it by Mrs Fraser, who was accounted the best Gaelic scholar in that part of the country. She taught him the language grammatically, learnt him to read and write it; and gave him a very high opinion of Gaelic poetry by the many excellent compositions in that language with which she made him acquainted. She came of a handsome race and was herself a lady of extreme beauty, known in her youth as “the pride of Glengarry.” Her manuscript collections of Gaelic poetry and music were carried away to America in 1773, by her son, Captain Simon, who had similar tastes to her own. He took part in the War of Independence as a Loyalist, in the course of which his house was wrecked and the manuscripts for ever lost.

William had issue, nine sons and five daughters—

1. Hugh, who died, unmarried, before his father, in 1745.
2. William, who succeeded his father.
3. Captain Simon, described as “in Crochel in 1746, and one of the witnesses of his sister Margaret’s contract of marriage in 1751. He held a commission in the Glengarry Fencibles, and subsequently, in 1774, went to America, settled near Bennington, and fought in the War of

Independence as a Loyalist. He received a classical Education, and cultivated the taste which he inherited from his mother for Gaelic poetry and music. In course of the war he was taken prisoner, had his house broken into and wrecked, and the family manuscripts which he had taken along with him from his home in Strathglass were destroyed. He was placed in a dungeon in Albany Jail where he soon after died. Captain Simon married Isabella Grant, daughter of "Daldreggan," and had several sons—William, Angus, Simon, and another, and five daughters, with whom their mother after their father's death crossed into Canada and settled in the county of Glengarry. Many of their descendants occupy good positions in the Dominion at the present day. Simon, the youngest of the boys, who ultimately gave his name to the Fraser River, became the most distinguished of the family. He was sent to school at Montreal, where he resided with his uncle, John, then Chief Justice of that district. The following account of his career is taken from the *Clan Fraser in Canada*, recently issued by Alexander Fraser of the *Toronto Mail*:—

"In 1792, at the age of sixteen, he became an articled clerk with Mactavish, Frobisher & Co., to the North-West Fur Trading Co., which had its headquarters in Montreal. In 1802 he became partner, and subsequently went out to the far North. In 1805 he came down from Fort Athabasca to Fort-William, and was then nominated to cross the Rocky Mountains, to extend outposts and form trading connections with the Indians. He responded at once to the call. He said he would undertake the expedition provided they gave him a sufficient outfit. This the Company were only too glad to do. It was a very hazardous undertaking. He crossed the mountains with thirty men—clerks, guides, and interpreters. He soon found himself in a wild and desolate region. As he went on he built block-houses and took possession of the country in name of the King. In 1806 he discovered the river which takes its name from him. He discovered many rivers and lakes which he named after different members of the Company. He traced the Fraser River to its source, and met many different tribes of Indians, some friendly, others hostile. At one time they met different tribes who were very friendly and made a great feast for them; they killed their *fattest dog* for him, which of course he feigned to eat; but at the same feast the chiefs held a council and

decided to put him to death, which the interpreter, who understood their language, told him, and they stole quietly away. He first named the river, now known as the Fraser River, the 'Great River,' and called the place 'New Caledonia.' Here he left some of the party, and crossed westerly into the open country, and built another house near a lake which he called Fraser's Lake. He was now with four men in the midst of Indians who had never before either seen or heard of the 'pale face.' On the border of this lake he witnessed an Indian ceremony. He was brought by the Indians to where they had a large burying-ground, where one of the chiefs of their tribe was being buried. An immense number of warriors were assembled, and after a most solemn and impressive ceremony, Fraser was invited by signs to approach the grave. He did so, and gave immense satisfaction by engraving his name on a post which had been planted over the remains of the departed warrior. In July, 1807, he received fresh supplies from the North-West Company, who at the same time urged him to trace with all possible speed the 'Great River' to the sea. Mr Fraser built another trading house on the 'Great River' in 1807, and reached the ocean in July, 1808. He remained but a short time there on account of the hostility of the Indians. Returning, he again met numerous and large bodies of Indians speaking several different languages. They assembled to see the wonderful pale faces who had come among them. An idea of how they regarded white men may be formed from the fact that when hundreds of them were congregated together, at the discharge of a single rifle they would fall prostrate on the ground, so great was their astonishment. Had it not been for Fraser's wonderful energy and enterprise there would not be a railroad to-day from ocean to ocean over British territory."

Simon Fraser the son, lived to the ripe old age of 86 years and died at St. Andrews, Canada, in August, 1862, his wife dying a few hours after him. Both were buried in the same grave. The *Freeholder*, a newspaper published in Cornwall, Ontario, in a long article from which these particulars are taken, says—

"In Mr Fraser the country not only loses one of its most respectable and honoured residents, but one of the most illustrious men who ever settled within its borders. One of the few survivors of the fine old 'North-Westerns,' Mr Fraser's name, as the discoverer and first explorer of the golden stream which bears his name, will be remembered with honour long after the most of his provincial contemporaries have been forgotten. Mr Fraser was the youngest son of Simon Fraser, who emigrated to the State of New York in 1773. He purchased land near Bennington; and upon the breaking out of the

Revolutionary War, he attached himself to the Royal cause, and served as Captain at the battle of Bennington, where he was captured by the rebels. He died in Albany jail about thirteen months afterwards, his end being hastened by the rigorous nature of his imprisonment. He was married to Isabella Grant, daughter of Daldreggan, and had issue—four sons and five daughters. The widow with her children came to Canada after the peace of 1783.”

Simon, the younger, left a son and two daughters. The son was a Colonel in the British army, and was Military Secretary to the Duke of Manchester when his Grace was Governor of Jamaica. He married a West India lady, and died in Jamaica, leaving issue—a son, John, and two daughters. John held the rank of Captain in the British army, married and left a son, William.

4. John, described in the entail of 1774 as Captain John Fraser, having served with that rank under Wolfe at the capture of Quebec, and afterwards became and was for many years Chief Justice of the Montreal district. He died before 1797.

5. Alexander, who went to the West Indies, served in General Caird's army, and perished in the Black Hole of Calcutta in 1756.

6. Peter, a Physician, who died at Madras, also unmarried.

7. Roderick, a Lieutenant in the Austrian army. He also died unmarried in Germany.

8. Donald, who was born in 1746, and was in his cradle only a week old when, by the orders of the Duke of Cumberland, Guisachan House was set fire to and razed to the ground. His mother commemorates both events in one of her beautiful Gaelic poems. He also was a Lieutenant in the Austrian army, and was killed in battle in Germany, when his mother composed a touching elegy on his death. He died unmarried.

9. Archibald, a Lieutenant in the Fraser Highlanders, who also served under Wolfe. He was subsequently a Major in the Glengarry Fencibles, served in Ireland during the rebellion of 1798, and died at Guisachan, unmarried.

10. Anne, who married Thomas Fraser of Achnacloich, with issue, among others—Hugh Fraser, VIII. of Eskadale,

who married Anne, only child of Captain Hugh Fraser, VII. of Eskadale, with issue.

II. Margaret, who in 1751 (marriage contract dated at Guisachan the 23rd of August in that year) married Robert Fraser, Younger of Muilzie and Aigais, among the witnesses being Hugh Fraser his brother, son of Hugh Fraser of Muilzie, and Simon Fraser son of Culbokie. In 1767 Robert was tenant of Wester Muilzie. But he had also a wadset from James Fraser of Belladrum of Easter Muilzie and Muilzie-reach, which had been redeemed in the previous year. He perished in a great storm which occurred in February, 1768. His effects when sold at a public sale fetched £400 sterling, of which £1 17s went to the undertaker for his funeral! £6 16s 2d "in wine and other necessaries"; and £12 6s 8d for spirits, bread, and cheese. The interment took place on the 18th of the month named. Robert's father was Hugh Fraser of Muilzie, second son, and the eldest by the second marriage, of Hugh Fraser of Aigais, known as "Old Father Aigais," to a daughter of Fraser of Teanacoille.*

Three other daughters died young and unmarried.

William died before July, 1755, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

IX. WILLIAM FRASER, ninth of Guisachan, who, as has been already seen, took part in the Rising of 1745, but was pardoned under the Indemnity Act of 1747. He was served heir male of line and of provision in general to his father William Fraser, late of Culbokie, eldest lawful son of the deceased William Fraser of Culbokie, on the 1st of July, 1755. On the 10th of December, 1756, he received a Crown charter—his former superiors, the family of Lovat, being now under forfeiture—of the lands of Guisachan, Lurg, and Bridaig, in the Parish of Kiltarlity, upon which he was enrolled as a freeholder. Between 1755 and 1760 he built the very substantial mansion-house which preceded the present modern residence at Guisachan, much admired at the time, and the home for many years of a very large and talented family.

* *Old, Yet New*, No. II.

He is named in General Simon Fraser's entail in 1774 immediately after Alexander Fraser of Struy and his brother Hugh.

William married Margaret, daughter of Stuart of Achnilly, with issue—

1. William, born 16th April, 1762, and died the same day.
2. William, his heir and successor.
3. Alexander, born 15th August, 1767. He went to the West Indies, where he died on the 19th of October, 1794.
4. John, who was born on the 8th of January, 1771, and was drowned at sea on his passage from London to Inverness in 1804, unmarried.

5. Simon, born 9th December, 1775. He was Captain in the Glengarry Fencibles, and died, unmarried, October, 1798.

6. Anne, celebrated for great beauty and personal accomplishments, who, born on the 25th of June, 1759, married in 1788, Æneas Ranald Macdonell, VI. of Scotus, with issue, among others—Æneas Ranald, whose son, also Æneas Ranald, became heir male and representative of the Macdonells of Glengarry on the extinction of the direct line in 1868. She died on the 13th of July, 1818.

7. Margaret, who was born on the 2nd of March, 1761, and died unmarried on the 9th of December, 1846, aged 85 years, her affianced Dr William Fraser, R.N., described "as descended of the family of Culbokie," having perished in the "Queen Charlotte," on board of which he was serving when she blew up and was lost.

8. Jane, born on the 11th of April, 1766, and on the 4th of November, 1792, as his first wife, married John Chisholm, V. of Knockfin, with issue—four sons and a daughter, and died on the 15th of June, 1799.

9. Mary, who was born on the 8th of January, 1769, and died unmarried in March, 1849, aged 80 years.

William, who had been for some years in failing health, died at Guisachan on the 31st of July, 1797, at the age of 74 years, his wife having predeceased him.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

X. WILLIAM FRASER, tenth of Guisachan. He was born

on the 15th of October, 1763, entered the army, was afterwards in business in the West Indies, and was on his way back to St. Vincent when his father died. Writing on the 8th of June, 1798, from that place, he says—"You may be sure I have the utmost anxiety to bid this part of the world adieu. I have now every inducement to incline me to return home, yet, I am sorry to say, I cannot make this out so soon as I expected, without making a sacrifice which my circumstances cannot afford, and which my best friends might censure." A friend of his, Thomas Fraser of St. Vincent, writing home to his cousin Simon Fraser, on the 24th of April, 1801, says that Culbokie took about £10,000 out of the island when he left it. Mr Fraser-Mackintosh says that "this Culbokie was, perhaps, the best known and had the greatest influence of the family. He was a capital man of business, of active and energetic habits, and I think for some time Convener of the county." He then gives the rental of Guisachan in 1800 at £444, as compared with that of 1892-93, which, without having a single tenant in the ordinary sense of the term on the property, had risen in that year to £1596 8s.

He succeeded in redeeming Kyllachy, a small portion of the estate which, it will be remembered, Hugh Fraser, VII. of Guisachan, gave a lease of to his brother Alexander, on the 15th of March, 1672, in return for money lent him. For an account of certain proceedings in connection with this redemption the reader is referred to the *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, vol. xviii., pp. 322-23.

He married in 1797 (marriage contract dated at Guisachan and Belladrum on the 25th and 26th April of that year) Sarah, third daughter of Colonel James Fraser, VII. of Belladrum, with issue—

1. William Fraser, W.S., who on the 25th of July, 1826, married Margaret, daughter of David George Sandeman of Springland, Perth, with issue—a son William, who succeeded his grandfather in the lands of Guisachan; and a daughter, Anna Jane, who, born on the 13th of March,

1829, married on the 18th of September, 1862, Home John Parker, with issue—Jane Hyde.

2. James Fraser, who entered the H.E.I.C.S. at Madras, and died before his father, unmarried.

The elder son, William Fraser, W.S., having died suddenly, also before his father, at Brighton, on the 6th of January, 1829, William, on his death in July, 1843, was succeeded by his grandson,

XI. WILLIAM FRASER, eleventh of Guisachan, only son of William Fraser, W.S., who died as above in 1829. He was still a minor. Born in 1827 he was brought up partly abroad and partly in this country. In early life he went to sea, and spent a good deal of his time in America. He entered the army, attained the rank of Captain, and was subsequently Colonel of the Highland Volunteer Artillery. In 1854 he sold Guisachan to the late Dudley Coutts Marjoribanks, first Lord Tweedmouth, for £52,000. In 1855 he bought the estate of Kilmuir, Skye, for £85,000 from the trustees of Lord Macdonald of Sleat and spent about £40,000 in improvements upon it. He disposed of it in September, 1888, for £110,000 to George Alexander Baird, and now resides at Redheugh, near Nairn.

He married Janet Brown, only surviving daughter of the late Andrew Brown Tosh of Torehouse, H.E.I.C.S., with issue—

1. William, born on the 11th of March, 1871, unmarried.

2. Ethel Jessie.

3. Anna.

4. Margaret Chisholm, who on the 12th of July, 1893, married Captain Ruari Chisholm Gooden, second son of James Chisholm Gooden Chisholm—The Chisholm—33 Tavistock Square, London, with issue—a son, Uailean Hamish MacUisdean, born on the 19th of April, 1894.

5. Janet Elizabeth.

6. Mary Jane.

THE FRASERS OF BELLADRUM.

I. JAMES FRASER, first of this family, was the second son of William Fraser, I. of Guisachan, second son of Thomas, fourth Lord Lovat. In a bond of manrent dated 1578, he is described as "James Fraser in Belladrum, brother-german to Hucheon Fraser of Guichachan." He is again on record in 1588. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander Mackenzie, I. of Davochmaluag, with issue—

1. Hugh, his heir and successor.
2. A daughter, who married Duncan Mackenzie, I. of Sand, Gairloch, with issue.

He was succeeded by his son,

II. HUGH FRASER, second of Belladrum, who has a charter of that place from Simon, eighth Lord Lovat, on the 13th of June, 1598. He is one of the arbiters named in a deed of submission between Simon Lord Lovat and John Grant of Freuchie, dated the 13th of September, 1599. There is a curious document, dated the same year, referred to in an old inventory of titles of the Belladrum estate in the following terms:—"Charter of confirmation by Robert Williamson of Murieston in favour of Hugh Fraser of Belladrum and Janet Fraser his spouse, dated the 16th of July, 1614, confirming a charter granted to them and the longest liver of them by Thomas Fraser *alias* Macintagart, of a croft of land in Easter Dounie, which last charter is dated the 15th day of December, 1599." He has a charter of Holm, now Lentrán, and Craggach in the parish of Kirkhill, from Lachlan Mackintosh of Dunachton, dated the 1st of November, 1616. The manner in which he secured these last named lands from Mackintosh is detailed at pp. 149-150. He married Janet, daughter of Alexander Chisholm, XIV. of Chisholm, with issue—

1. Hugh, his heir and successor.

2. Margaret, who in March, 1611, married Hugh Ross, fourth of Little Tarrell (sasine 27th of March, 1611), with issue.*

He was succeeded by his son,

III. HUGH FRASER, third of Belladrum, who was served heir to his father Hugh in 1620. His name appears as "Hucheon Fraser of Belladrum" in a bond entered into by several of the Highland chiefs and heads of families in 1628, given at length in the *History of the Chisholms*, pp. 52-54. Hugh, ninth Lord Lovat, by charter dated at Lovat the 26th of November, 1636, grants to Hugh Fraser of Belladrum the town and lands of Bencharan, the town and lands of Muilzie, the town and lands of Ochter, or "Uchterachie," mentioned in the contract of marriage of 1416 between William Fenton of that Ilk and Hugh, first Lord Lovat, and the easter half of the town and lands of Brewling, extending to half a davoch, and an eighth part of old extent, lying within the barony of Aigais, forestry of Brewling, barony of Lovat, and sheriffdom of Inverness, and upon the same day Lord Simon empowers Hugh of Belladrum to redeem three wadsets then held over the lands in question. His name appears in the Valuation Roll for the county of Inverness in 1644 for a rental of £132 13s 4d in the parish of Kiltarlity, in Kirkhill for £333 6s 8d, and in Kilmorack for £468 Scots. Hugh purchased Lord Lovat's quarter of Belladrum from Sir James Fraser of Brea when that gentleman was Tutor of Lovat in 1646. He married Katharine Og, daughter of John Roy Mackenzie, IV. of Gairloch, who died in 1628 in his 80th year, by his second wife, Isabel, daughter of Murdoch Mackenzie, I. of Fairburn, with issue—

1. Hugh, his heir and successor.
2. James, first of Achnagairn, of whom next.
3. Simon, first of the Frasers of Fingask.
4. George, Principal of one of the Aberdeen Colleges.
5. Margaret, who as his second wife married James Fraser, first in Tomich, next in Dunballoch, and who after-

* Reid's *Earls of Ross*, p. 38.

wards bought Kingillie and Drumchardiny in the parish of Kirkhill, with issue, for whom see THE FAMILY OF DUNBALLOCH.

6. A daughter, who married John Mackenzie, II. of Applecross, who succeeded to the estates in 1646, and was living in 1663, with issue—Alexander Mackenzie, III. of Applecross, who, as his first wife, married Anne, only daughter of Alexander Fraser, Tutor of Lovat, by Lady Sibella or Elizabeth Mackenzie, daughter of Kenneth, first Lord Mackenzie of Kintail. Alexander Mackenzie, III. of Applecross, married secondly, Margaret, daughter of Roderick Mackenzie, V. of Fairburn, with issue, and thirdly, in 1713, Christian, daughter of Hugh Fraser, IV. of Belladrum, with issue.

7. A daughter, who married Hector Mackenzie in Assynt, brother of Roderick Mackenzie, I. of Applecross (sasine to Hector in 1650).

8. Janet, who married Roderick Mackenzie, V. of Davochmaluag (who has a sasine in 1640), with issue—Kenneth, his heir and successor, three other sons, and four daughters.

Hugh is said to have also married a daughter of Colonel Patrick Grant, IV. of Glenmoriston, who died in 1643.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

IV. HUGH FRASER, fourth of Belladrum. He, as "Hugh Fraser, Younger of Belladrum," attended the Master of Lovat's funeral in Edinburgh in 1643, and he appears in the Valuation Roll for 1644 for a rental of £573 in the parish of Wardlaw, now Kirkhill; in Kiltarlity, for £132 13s 4d; and in Kilmorack for £468—a total of £1173 13s 4d Scots. On the 22nd of February, 1649, Thomas Mackenzie of Pluscardine took possession of the town of Inverness, and at a council of war held on the 26th of the same month, there were present, among others, Hugh Fraser of Belladrum and Simon Fraser of Craighouse. His name appears again in 1652-1655.

On the 30th of June, 1656, Colin Mackenzie, II. of Kinraig, gives a blench charter dated at Inverness of Inchvult, Inchlochell, and Inchvallagan, as then possessed

by himself and his tenants within the parish of Kilmorack, earldom of Ross, and sheriffdom of Inverness, to Hugh Fraser of Belladrum, the reddendo to the superior being 13s 4d, with an augmentation of 3s 4d. In 1661 Hugh, tenth Lord Lovat, with consent of his curators and others, granted a precept of clare constat in favour of Hugh Fraser of Belladrum in the lands contained in the charter of 1636. He married his cousin, a daughter of Roderick Mackenzie, V. of Davochmaluag, with issue—

1. Hugh, his heir and successor.

2. Thomas, who is described in 1672 in the "Album Studiosorum" of Aberdeen University as a "son of the Laird of Belladrum," and again in the "Album Laureatorum" in 1676 as "Thomas Fraser, frater domini a Belladrum." What afterwards became of him is not known.

3. Christian, who in 1713, as his third wife, married her cousin, Alexander Mackenzie, III. of Applecross.

4. A daughter who married the Rev. William Mackenzie, Episcopal minister of Rosskeen, with issue. He was one of the Mackenzies of Ardross family, and was admitted to Rosskeen before the 9th of August, 1665. He died on the 14th of March, 1774.*

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

V. HUGH FRASER, fifth of Belladrum. He is a student in Aberdeen University in 1667. While "Younger of Belladrum" he was a member of the Scottish Parliament for the county of Inverness in 1678, and again in 1685-86. He is entered in the Valuation Roll for 1691 in the parish of Wardlaw for a rental of £288; in Kiltarlity for £100; and in Kilmorack for lands in Glenstrathfarrar for £296, all Scots. His name appears in the Act of the Scottish Parliament passed on the 10th of July, 1695, as being the author of a "Report under the hands of Hugh Fraser of Belladrum and James Fraser of Reelick, Commissioners of Supply, 3rd and 4th February, 1691, who had taken the depositions for the barony of Urquhart" in a claim by Sir Ludovick Grant of Grant for losses sustained by him during

* *History of the Mackenzies*, new edition, p. 508.

the Revolution.* It will be observed that his rentals are very much reduced in the parishes of Wardlaw and Kiltarlity since 1644, and the whole of the £468 disappears from the parish of Kilmorack. Indeed, he has now only a total rental of £388, as against £1174 13s 4d forty-seven years earlier. He was one of the trustees of Hugh, eleventh Lord Lovat, during his Lordship's minority, along with Kenneth Mor Mackenzie, third Earl of Seaforth, and Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbat; and in 1677, young Lord Lovat, then in his twelfth year, was removed to Belladrum's house, where he was placed under "proper tutors," and remained there until he went to the University (see pp. 203-204).

He married Janet, daughter of Alexander Chisholm, XVII. of Chisholm, with issue—

1. Alexander Fraser, who died before his father, but who in 1680, then described as "Alexander Fraser, Younger of Belladrum," married Margaret, daughter of Colin Mackenzie, III. of Redcastle, with issue—James, who succeeded his grandfather.

2. William, who is described as one of the students in Aberdeen University in 1679, as "Gulielmus Fraser filius domini de Belladrum."

3. Simon Fraser, designated in the same list as "Simon Fraser, ejusdem frater."

4. Anne, who married William, fifth son of James Fraser, I. of Dunballoch, without issue.

Hugh was succeeded by his grandson,

VI. JAMES FRASER, sixth of Belladrum, who in 1711 is infeft as heir of his grandfather Hugh by Roderick Mackenzie of Prestonhall, then nominal superior of all the Lovat lands. Lord Lovat makes the following reference to him in a letter to Ludovick Grant of Grant, dated Beaufort, the 13th day of April, 1737. "They (a party from Glenurquhart) went all drunk to your cousin Belladrum's house about 12 o'clock at night, and Belladrum being sick in bed, they insulted him and his lady and family, and gave un-

* *Chiefs of Grant*, vol. iii., p. 483.

seeming names to his country and people." He is, however, dead before the 22nd of May, 1739, for on that date Lord Lovat writing to the same Ludovick Grant says—"The little insolent fellow, Achmounie, continues to insult, abuse, and maltreat the Lady Belladrum and her tenants and some of mine; and he has lately invented a very silly lie of you against me. It is not worth the while to write you the lie that he spreads up and down, but I'll tell you it at meeting. In the meantime, at the earnest prayers and desire of the poor widow lady, your cousin Belladrum's relict, I have sent a Notary with a party to make legal interruption in putting down a dike that he has built upon Belladrum's property and mine that he has no more right to than the Rigs of Lovat."*

James, married, with issue—

1. James, his heir and successor.
2. Alexander, who was "in good business in Tobago" in 1771, mentioned in General Fraser's entail in 1774, but dead without issue before 1797.

3. Christian, who married William Fraser, who acquired a wadset of Kingillie from his father, Thomas Fraser of Dunballoch and Newton, Sheriff-Depute of the county of Inverness in 1713, with issue—James, Thomas, Hugh, Anna, and May.

4. Anne, who married Donald Fraser, second son of the then deceased William Fraser of Belloan. The marriage trustees are her brother, Captain James Fraser, VII. of Belladrum, Alexander, her other brother, and Peter Fraser of Fingask, the contract being signed at Belladrum on the 2nd of December, 1766.

He was succeeded by his elder son,

VII. COLONEL JAMES FRASER, seventh of Belladrum, who, in 1756, made up titles to the lands of Kilmorack as heir of his great-grandfather Hugh. He was known by his Gaelic countrymen as "Seumas Eolach," or James the Knowing One. In 1757 he was appointed Captain in the Fraser Regiment of Highlanders raised in that year by

* *Chiefs of Grant*, vol. ii., p. 387.

General Simon Fraser of Lovat, and accompanied the corps to Canada, where he served with distinction during the Seven Years War. In 1767, on the narrative that though he was still fully assessed on the rental of 1691 he and his predecessors had been really denuded of the whole lands in Kilmorack in favour of the family of Lovat, except Easter Muilzie and Muilzie-reach, which still belonged to him, at least in mid-superiority, he petitioned the Commissioners of Supply for the county for modification and corresponding relief. He is one of the substitutes in General Simon Fraser's entail of 1774. On the 30th of April, 1781, he, described as "our former Collector," was appointed by the Commissioners of Supply for the county of Inverness their Collector "for this current year." His cautioners were Alexander Chisholm of Chisholm and William Chisholm, Provost of Inverness. On the 29th of November, 1794, letters of service were issued to him for raising a Fencible Regiment a thousand strong. By the following spring he completed the corps, of which no fewer than three hundred bore the name of Fraser, while the others were chiefly from the Fraser country. On the 14th of June, 1795, they were embodied and inspected at Inverness. In November, 1797, he resigned the command of the regiment, and John Simon Frederick Fraser, Master of Lovat, the Hon. Archibald Fraser's eldest son, was appointed Colonel in his place. In the same year George III. directed a letter, among others, to Colonel James Fraser of Belladrum conferring powers upon him to receive the oaths of all the Justices of the Peace for the county of Inverness.

He married Hannah (born in 1739), third daughter of Hugh Baillie of Dochfour by Emilia, daughter of Alexander Fraser, X. of Reelick (who married in 1734), with issue—

1. James, his heir and successor.

2. Simon, who, in 1790, purchased an estate in Demerara, and married Fraulein Battenberg, with issue, among other daughters but no sons—Hannah, who married Captain Alexander Mackenzie, 25th Native Regiment, H.E.I.C.S., third son of Alexander Mackenzie, VI. of Ord, with issue.

3. Emilia, who, born in 1771, married in 1795 Major Colin Mackenzie, IV. of Mountgerald, with issue—Colin, Simon, and Alexander Fraser, all of whom succeeded each other in Mountgerald ; and six daughters. She died on the 14th of January, 1828.

4. Sarah, who in 1797 (marriage contract dated at Guisachan and Belladrum the 25th and 26th of April of that year) married William Fraser, X. of Guisachan, with issue. She is described in the contract as the Colonel's third daughter.

He died in 1797, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

VIII. JAMES FRASER, eighth of Belladrum, known locally as "Seumas Eolach Eolach," or the Knowing Knowing James. He bought the superiority of the lands of Belladrum when sold by the Lovat Trustees on the 20th of December, 1800, for which he has a sasine in the following year ; and there is a contract of excambion between him and Colonel Simon Fraser, Younger of Lovat, of certain lands near Beaufort in 1801. He was served heir to his father in 1810. He subsequently engaged in business in the West Indies, but was unsuccessful ; for as early as 1812 his affairs became much involved ; the estate is advertised for sale on 26th of March and 13th of August, 1813, and in 1827 it is finally sold for £80,000 to John Stewart of Carnousie, who, on the 15th of December, 1814, had married Jamesina, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel William Campbell of the 78th Regiment, widow of Captain Simon Fraser of Fanellan, and who afterwards sold it to James Merry, the well-known ironmaster.

James married Mary, elder daughter of John Fraser, VI. of Achnagairn, without issue, and after the sale of his estate he went to the West Indies, where he died a few years later, the last male representative of his house. His widow died at Windsor on the 5th of January, 1854, aged 72 years.

THE FRASERS OF ACHNAGAIRN.

I. JAMES FRASER, first of Achnagairn, was the second son of Hugh Fraser, III. of Belladrum, by his wife Katharine Og, daughter of John Roy Mackenzie, IV. of Gairloch. From an inventory of Achnagairn papers, dated the 8th of March, 1755, we find that, on the 7th of April, 1670, Hugh, tenth Lord Lovat, granted Fraser a tack "of the town and lands of Auchnagairn and the miln thereof, as also the town and lands of Grome, etc., for the space of twenty times nineteen years, commencing from Whitsunday, 1670." Sasine followed on the 19th of June following, and it was registered at Fortrose on the 30th of the same month. The contract of tack itself was registered in the Books of Council and Session on the 26th of May, 1735.

James must have died before 1691, for in the Valuation Roll of that year for the County of Inverness there is the following entry:—"The heir of Achnagairn for his own rent and a part of Kilbokie's, £325." He was succeeded by his son,

II. JAMES FRASER, second of Achnagairn. He is mentioned in 1700 as James Fraser "of Achnagairn," and there is a disposition by Lord Prestonhall "to James Fraser of Achnagairn of the quarter lands of Achnagairn and pertinents, but excepting the miln thereof," dated the 16th of January, 1710, and registered in the Books of Council, along with his predecessor's contract of tack, on the 26th of May, 1735. He writes a letter to "his son Dr Fraser," on the 18th of April, 1735. In 1736 an action for libel is raised against him at the instance of Fraser of Belloan and Lord Lovat, but what subsequently became of it does not appear.

He married Isobel, daughter of Duncan Forbes of Cul-loden, and sister of the Lord President, with issue—

1. Duncan, his heir and successor.

2. James, Provost of Inverness, mentioned in General Simon Fraser's entail in 1774.

3. Anne, married Alexander Ross of Nether Pitkerrie.*

4. Katharine, who, born in 1698, married in 1721, as his second wife, Colin Mackenzie, I. of Mountgerald (marriage contract in that year), with issue—James, II. of Mountgerald and others. She died on the 9th of March, 1777.

James, who died before 1750, was succeeded by his elder son,

III. DR DUNCAN FRASER, one of the substitutes in General Fraser's entail in 1774, and mentioned in the Act of 1797, as being "since deceased without issue" male. He is often referred to in Lord Simon's voluminous correspondence as the "Dr." In the inventory already referred to there is a reference to a memorial for him "upon talking to lawyers and people of skill anent the neglecting to enter a claim for Dr Fraser upon the estate of Lovat for the lands of Achnagairn and Grome upon the foresaid long tack and disposition. They seem to think it was unnecessary, as the Doctor and his predecessors have been in the natural possession of the lands for 80 years past for payment of the tack duty mentioned in the tack, and more especially as upon the survey and taking up the rental of the forfeited estate of Lovat there is nothing else surveyed nor rentalled but these very articles of tack duty, which has been always paid since the date of it in the year 1670, and upon which the Doctor himself deponed at the taking the said estate." The date of this memorial, reckoning the 80 years therein referred to from 1670, the date of the original tack, would be 1750.

The Doctor married with issue, at least one daughter—Katharine, who married first, Andrew Ross, fourth of Pitkerrie, Easter Ross, and secondly, on the 20th of October, 1741, John, second son of Robert Gray, VII. of Skibo, with issue.†

Dying without male issue, Dr Fraser was succeeded by his brother,

* Reid's *Earls of Ross*.

† *Ibid.*

IV. JAMES FRASER, fourth of Achnagairn, a merchant, and Provost of Inverness from 1764 to 1767. He married Isabel, daughter of George Mackenzie of Culbo, third son of Alexander Mackenzie, II. of Belmaduthy, with issue—

1. John, his heir and successor.

James was succeeded by his son,

V. JOHN FRASER, fifth of Achnagairn, a merchant in London, and is referred to in 1785 as having got seriously embarrassed in his financial affairs there. William Ross (formerly Gray), of Cromarty and Conduit Street, London, in his will, dated in that year, says that he would have left certain persons named by him larger legacies "were it not for the great loss I lately sustained by the failure of my relative, Mr John Fraser, merchant, London." John died on the 29th of April, 1825, aged 80 years. He erected a monument to his predecessor, Dr Duncan Fraser, in the old Churchyard of Kirkhill.

He married in Edinburgh, on the 5th of August, 1778, Jean Mackenzie, daughter of a son of Bernard Mackenzie of Sandilands,* with issue—

1. James, who succeeded his father.
2. John, who succeeded his brother James.
3. Henry, an Episcopalian clergyman, who died unmarried.
4. Mary, who married James Fraser, eighth and last of Belladrum, without issue.
5. Justina, who married the Rev. George Bates, an English clergyman, also without issue.

John was succeeded by his eldest son,

VI. JAMES FRASER, sixth of Achnagairn, who married Dora Macrae, of the family of Inverinate, with issue—

1. Dora, who married Robert Reid, brewer, London, without issue.
2. Jane, who married Eyre Lambert, without issue.
3. Helen, who married, first, Huntly George Gordon Duff of Muirtown, with issue—(1) Emily Dora, who died young; (2) Georgina Huntly, who married Francis Darwin of Elston, Notts, and of Muirtown, Inverness, without issue.

* Reid's *Earls of Ross*.

Helen married, secondly, Charles Middleton of Middleton Lodge, Ilkley, Yorkshire, with issue—(3) Charles Marmaduke, now of Middleton; (4) Reginald Charles, a Jesuit priest; (5) Lionel George, a settler in Australia; and (6) Hilda Mary, still unmarried.

James dying without male issue, was succeeded by his brother,

VII. JOHN FRASER, seventh of Achnagairn, Official Assignee for the City of Manchester. He married Caroline Harriet Malton, with issue, four sons and nine daughters, of whom the following survive, all the others having died young or unmarried—

1. Hugh, his heir and successor.
2. Margaret, unmarried.
3. Georgina, unmarried.
4. Caroline Emily, unmarried.

5. Louisa Maria, who on the 25th of August, 1864, married William Alexander Grant Gordon, a cadet of the Gordons of Croughly, born on the 30th of July, 1839, residing at Drumdevan, near Inverness, with issue—(1) Kenneth Fraser, born on the 16th of September, 1865, now in the London Office of the Hong Kong Bank; (2) Neil Fraser, born on the 5th of September, 1860, a Lieutenant in the Royal Artillery; (3) Alister Fraser, born on the 1st of February, 1872, a Lieutenant in the Gordon Highlanders; (4) Ronald, who died young; and (5) Cecilia, all unmarried.

6. Constance Isabella, unmarried.

John's wife died at Torquay on the 30th of January, 1854, and he died in 1872, when he was succeeded by his only surviving son,

VIII. HUGH FRASER, eighth and now of Achnagairn. He married, in 1873, Florence, only child of Edward Finch-Hatton, with issue—four daughters.

THE FRASERS OF STRUY.

I. ANDREW FRASER, afterwards called William, second son of Hugh, fifth Lord Lovat, killed at Blar-nan-leine in 1544, by his second wife, Janet, daughter of Walter Ross of Balnagown, was the first of the Frasers of Struy. He was Tutor for his nephew Hugh, seventh Lord Lovat. For particulars of his services in this responsible position see pages 104 to 107. His Tutorship expired in 1567, when his Lordship granted him an honourable discharge of all his accounts. He claimed the Tutorship again against Thomas of Knockie, his Lordship's uncle, when his grand-nephew Simon, eighth Lord, succeeded in January, 1576-77. Knockie, however, succeeded to the office. For particulars of this dispute and its settlement see pages 121 to 123. He was one of those in whose favour Simon, the eighth Lord, inhibited himself in 1587 against disposing of any part of his estates until he became of age. He is on record as late as 1591.

On the 21st of September, 1570, he secured a wadset from Mackintosh of Mackintosh of the lands of Eskadale, and they continued on that footing until on the 10th of March, 1618, Mackintosh resigned the wadset to William's grandson, Thomas Fraser, III. of Struy, and Elizabeth Dunbar, his wife.

On the 19th of January, 1560, and again in November, 1561, William entered into a contract of marriage with Elizabeth or Elspet, daughter of John Grant, X. of Freuchie, but it is not known whether the marriage was celebrated or not. If so, he must have divorced her soon after, for on the 15th of February, 1564, another marriage contract is entered into between her and John Leslie, Younger of

Balquhain. She, in 1576, divorces Leslie, and enters into a third contract of marriage, on the 21st of January, 1580—this time with William Cumming of Inverallochy. The contract with William Fraser of Struy is a peculiar one, for oddly enough it anticipates a divorce and makes certain provision for it. It, as well as the contract with John Leslie, is printed in *The Chiefs of Grant*, vol. iii., pp. 380-382, and reference to her proceedings for divorce from the latter will be found at pp. 391-393 of the same volume. By Elizabeth Grant, or another, William had issue—

1. Hugh, his heir and successor.

2. Thomas, first of the Frasers of Eskadale, whom see.

3. Elizabeth, who, in 1594, married James Fraser, I. of Phopachy, with issue, from whom sprung the Frasers of Torbreck, Inchberry, and others, whom see.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

II. HUGH FRASER, second of Struy, whose name appears as such in 1616. He married Katharine, daughter of John Roy Mackenzie, IV. of Gairloch, with issue—

1. Thomas, his heir and successor.

He was succeeded by his son,

III. THOMAS FRASER, third of Struy. His name appears in an agreement between the Earl of Seaforth and the leading men of the Clan Mackenzie on the one hand, and Simon Lord Lovat and the principal men of the Frasers on the other hand, in 1628, as "Thomas Fraser of Struy,"* In the titles of the Urquharts of Cromarty there are two renunciations by "Thomas Fraser of Struy" in favour of Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty, Knight, of the lands of Davidston, dated in 1629, and registered at Chanonry on the 31st of May in that year. He appears in the Valuation Roll of 1644 for lands in the parish of Boleskine and Abertarff to the value of £373 6s 8d; in Kiltarlity to the value of £104 3s 4d; and in Kilmorack to the value of £520—a total of £997 10s Scots. He supplied, in 1652-53, most of the Scotch fir from his woods of Struy used in the erection of Cromwell's Fort at Inverness, for which he

* *History of the Chisholms*, pp. 52-54.

received in payment the large sum of thirty thousand merks. He married Elizabeth Dunbar, dead before 1629, with issue—

1. Alexander, described in 1629 as his eldest son and apparent heir, in which year he seems to have died before his father.

2. Hugh, who succeeded to the estate.

3. Agnes, who married John Maclean, son and apparent heir of Alexander Maclean of Dochgarroch, with issue (contract of marriage dated the 27th of July, 1629, in possession of their descendant, Charles Fraser-Mackintosh). She died in 1680. The contract is witnessed, among others, in addition to the principals (Thomas of Struy being named as the lady's father), by Hucheson Fraser of Culbokie, James Fraser of Phopachy, William Fraser of Drumchardiny, Thomas Fraser of Boblainy, Hugh Fraser, "apparent of Struy," and Mr William Fraser, minister at Conventh. Agnes Fraser's mother was dead at the date of the contract, in which she is referred to as her "umquhile mother." Hugh being "apparent of Struy" at this date shows that his brother Alexander was then dead.

4. A daughter, who, as his second wife, married the Rev. John Mackenzie of Tolly.

Thomas was succeeded by his second and only surviving son,

IV. HUGH FRASER, fourth of Struy, whose name appears in 1656, 1659, and again in 1665. In an inventory of the moveable debts of James Dunbar, Baillie of Inverness, dated the 8th of September, 1712, there is a "bond, Hugh Fraser of Struy, to the deceased Alexander Dunbar, Provost of Inverness, for the sum of twenty-six pounds, twelve shillings, four pennies, Scots money, with penalties and annual rent, dated the 1st of February, 1665 years." His name appears in the proclamation of 1678 as "Hugh Fraser of Strowie," and he is again on record in 1683.

He married, with issue—

1. John, who succeeded his father.

2. Thomas, who succeeded his brother John ; and others.

3. Agnes, who married Hugh Fraser, VI. of Guisachan, with issue; and others.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

V. JOHN FRASER, fifth of Struy, whose name is entered as "John Fraser of Struy" in the Valuation Roll for the county of Inverness in 1691 for £400. He was succeeded by his brother,

VI. THOMAS FRASER, sixth of Struy. In 1696 he signs, immediately after his Lordship, the letter addressed by Thomas, twelfth Lord Fraser of Lovat and the leading men of the clan to the Earl of Argyle, given at length at pages 219 to 221. Described as "Major Thomas Fraser, Elder of Struy," he was, on the 6th of September, 1698, along with Simon of Lovat and others, found guilty of treason and other crimes against the State, "ravishing persons of distinguished ranks," to wit, the Dowager Lady Lovat, and sentenced to death and forfeiture in absence.* His name appears again in 1704, in a decree of constitution of the debt already referred to as due to the late Bailie James Dunbar of Inverness by his father, "against Thomas Fraser of Struy, as representing his said deceased father, dated, before the Sheriff of Inverness, the 17th of July, 1704 years." It was to him that Simon Lord Lovat, before he left for France in 1702, granted the bond for 4000 merks referred to at pages 253-254, and which continued an irritating cause of dispute and litigation between the two families for many years afterwards—until after Lord Simon's death in 1747.

Thomas married, with issue—

1. Hugh, his heir and successor.
2. Alexander, described as "a son of Struy" in 1706.
3. Agnes, who, as his second wife, married Simon Mackenzie, I. of Allangrange, in 1718.

He was succeeded by his elder son,

VII. HUGH FRASER, seventh of Struy, who is found guilty on the 6th of September, 1698—along with his father and several others—under the designation of "Hugh Fraser,

* See pages 232 to 241 for the charges, trial, and sentence.

son to Struy," of treasonable practices against the State, sentenced to death, and forfeited in absence the same day. His name also appears in 1711 and 1716. He married Lillas, daughter of John Chisholm, XX. of Chisholm, with issue—

1. Thomas, his heir and successor.
2. David, who married, with issue—Thomas, known locally as "Tomas Mac Dhaibhidh," who married Janet, daughter of Colin Chisholm, III. of Knockfin, and sister, not daughter as stated at p. 159 of Mackenzie's *History of the Chisholms*, of Valentine Chisholm, of Inchully, with issue—John, generally called "Ian Mac Thomais," tacksman of Mid-Guisachan, who married Jean, daughter of William Chisholm, farmer, Moor of Comar, with issue—ten sons and two daughters, namely, (1) William, subsequently known for many years as the venerable Roman Catholic Bishop William Fraser of Arichat, Nova Scotia. (2) Colin, who married with issue—nine children, of whom three survive, with nineteen grandchildren. Colin left no male issue. (3) Hugh, or Huistean, who died in infancy. (4) another Hugh, who married with issue—ten children, of whom five still survive, with eight grandchildren. Hugh had several sons, the eldest of whom was John, who died a few years ago, leaving two sons—William and Austin or Hugh, the said William being the present heir-male of the Frasers of Struy. (5) Thomas, who married Catherine, daughter of Duncan Chisholm, farmer, Invercannich, with issue—five children, of whom two survive, with fourteen grandchildren. (6) John, who married with issue—eleven children, of whom ten survive, with forty-nine grandchildren. (7) David, who married, with issue—nine children, of whom six survive, with fifty-one grandchildren. (8) Simon, who died unmarried, in Jamaica, where he was in charge of a coffee plantation. (9) Angus, who married with issue—five children, of whom two still survive, with eleven grandchildren. (10) Alexander, a master mariner, who commanded a ship from the port of Greenock, and was drowned off the West Coast of Ireland in a great storm, when the ship was lost with all hands. He married a Port-Glasgow lady, with issue—one

son, William, who, according to the late Colin Chisholm, Inverness, who remembered all the sons personally before they emigrated in 1821, followed his grandfather and uncles to Nova Scotia. (11) a daughter who died in infancy; and (12) Jean, who married Donald Chisholm, Balnahaun, Strathglass, who also emigrated, with issue—seven children, of whom four survive, with thirty grandchildren, all, as well as the surviving children and grandchildren of her several brothers, now in Nova Scotia. Thomas, son of David, had another son David Fraser, a farmer at Craskie, Glencannich, who married Mary, daughter of Theodore Chisholm, tacksmen of Comar, Strathglass, with issue—William Fraser, a priest at St. Raphael's, Glengarry, Canada; and Alexander, who died unmarried in Strathglass.

All John Mac Thomais's surviving sons emigrated in 1821 along with their father to Nova Scotia, where, as we have just seen, so many of their descendants, male and female, are still to be found, among them William Fraser, the present heir-male of the family of Struy, the direct male line in this country having become extinct on the death of Hugh Fraser, XIII. of Struy, on the 27th of December, 1866.

Hugh was succeeded by his son,

VIII. THOMAS FRASER, eighth of Struy, whose name appears in 1740, and who in 1757 was appointed a Captain in the 78th Fraser Highlanders, raised in that year by General Simon Fraser of Lovat, and who in that distinguished corps took a part in the conquest of Canada during the Seven Years' War.

He married, with issue—

1. Alexander, his heir and successor.
2. Hugh, who succeeded his brother Alexander.

He was succeeded by his elder son,

IX. ALEXANDER FRASER, ninth of Struy, who is mentioned in General Fraser's entail in 1774 immediately after the members of the Strichen family. He is on record in 1792, registered arms in 1796, and both he and his brother Hugh were alive in 1797.

He died without issue, and was succeeded by his brother,

X. HUGH FRASER, tenth of Struy, named next after his brother Alexander in General Fraser's entail of 1774, coming immediately after the family of Strichen, who since, in 1815, succeeded to the Lovat estates, and are now in possession. Hugh married Jane, daughter of Alexander Fraser of Torbreck, long known in Inverness as "Lady Struy." She was born with other members of that family in the mansion house of Merkinch, then "standing a pleasant and open residence but now (1857) closely hemmed in with buildings." By her Hugh had issue—

1. Thomas, who succeeded his father.
2. Robert, who succeeded his brother Thomas.
3. Hugh, who succeeded his brother Robert.
4. Margaret Dunbar, who died unmarried.
5. Catherine Wedderburn, who also died unmarried in 1844.

Hugh died in 1805, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

XI. THOMAS FRASER, eleventh of Struy, on record as in minority in 1806, and again noticed in 1808 and 1820. He died young, without issue, and was succeeded by his next brother,

XII. ROBERT FRASER, twelfth of Struy, a merchant in London, who sold the estate in 1826 to the late Thomas Alexander Fraser, subsequently Lord Lovat, for £21,000, reserving to himself and after his death to his brother Hugh the superiority of the lands, in order to retain their voting qualification for the county of Inverness. He died at Jersey unmarried on the 27th of March, 1830, aged 35 years, when he was succeeded by his only surviving brother,

XIII. HUGH FRASER, thirteenth of Struy, who passed W.S. on the 7th of February, 1822, and died at Edinburgh unmarried on the 2nd of December, 1866, when the male line of Alexander and of his brother Hugh, both named in General Fraser's entail of 1774, and the next heirs of entail to the present family of Lovat, became extinct and

the representation of Struy went to the Nova-Scotian branch of the family as already shown.

It may, however, be well to point out that this branch broke off from the main stem before the entail of 1774, and that, the male heirs of the substitutes mentioned in that instrument having died out, the Frasers of Ardachy and Guisachan, both nearer than Struy, would succeed under the old charter of 1539 before the representatives of that family. But as matters stand at present, there is little chance for any of these cadet families succeeding to the estates, even should the existing Lovat line die out, for they are all disentailed and held in fee-simple by Simon Joseph Fraser, sixteenth and present Lord Lovat, who has it in his power to alienate or sell them to any one he pleases, male or female, stranger or clansman. The Scottish title, however, goes to the nearest heir male.

THE FRASERS OF ESKADALE.

I. THOMAS FRASER, the first of this family, was the second son of William Fraser, I. of Struy, who was the eldest son of Hugh, fifth Lord Lovat, by his second wife, Janet, daughter of Walter Ross of Balnagown. Thomas is found possessed of the lands of Eskadale from 1616 to 1620. In 1618 he was one of a distinguished party who accompanied Colin, first Earl of Seaforth, to a great hunt in the forest of Monar (see p. 151).

He married, with issue, at least, one son—

1. Thomas, his heir and successor.
2. A daughter, who married, first, James Mackintosh of Termett, and secondly in 1702, William Grant of Ballemore, Abernethy.

He was succeeded by his son,

II. THOMAS FRASER, second of Eskadale. In 1641 he bought Easter Aigais from Hugh, ninth Lord Lovat, as the patrimony during his own life of his eldest son Hugh. He was one of the principal members of the clan who attended the funeral of Hugh, Master of Lovat, at Holyrood, Edinburgh, in May, 1643, and he is entered in the Valuation Roll for the county of Inverness in the following year for lands in the parish of Kiltarlity valued at £120 13s 4d, and in Kilmorack valued at £520 Scots, per annum. He is again on record in 1655.

He married Margaret, daughter of William Fraser, V. of Culbokie (marriage contract dated at "Bewlie," the 6th of February, 1660), with issue—

III. HUGH FRASER, third of Eskadale, who appears in the Valuation Roll of 1691 for £36 in the parish of Kirkhill, for £50 in Kiltarlity, and £75 in Kilmorack including his feu-duty payable to Lord Lovat. He grants a bond as "Hugh Fraser of Escadel," dated the 30th of November, 1681, and he is on record again in 1689. In 1702 he was

one of the Dowager Lady Lovat's bailies, when John Fraser, younger brother of Lord Simon, then in France, took him prisoner at the burning of Fanellan House, along with Captain John Mackenzie, another of the Dowager's bailies, Lieutenant Campbell, and others (see pp. 264-266), and carried them in triumph to Stratherrick, where Hugh was detained captive for a considerable time, the others having in the meantime been set at liberty.

He married with issue—

1. Thomas, his heir and successor.

2. Hugh, who acquired the lands of Aigais from his father, as already stated, and subsequently known as "Old Father Aigais." He married three times, first a daughter of the Rev. Donald Fraser, minister of Kilmorack, with issue—(1) Thomas Fraser of Achnacloich, who married Anne, fifth daughter of William Fraser, IX. of Guisachan, by his wife Margaret Macdonald of Ardnabi, with issue—twelve children—(a) William, born on the 5th of March, 1754, and fell in action in India, without issue; (b) Simon, born on the 26th of February, 1757, a Captain in the 56th Regiment, who died unmarried; (c) Andrew, who died without issue; (d) Hugh, who, born on the 12th of November, 1765, married his cousin Anne, daughter of Captain Hugh Fraser, VII. of Eskadale, in her right succeeded to that estate, and at the same time, his elder brothers having died without issue, carried on through his father and grandfather the male representation of the old Eskadale family; (e) John, born on the 30th of June, 1767, an officer in the 72nd Regiment of Foot, killed in a duel in the Isle of France, in 1815; (f) Peter, born on the 4th of November, 1776, Major in the Royal Scots. He served first in the West Indies, and subsequently in the earlier stages of the Peninsular War, where he had his horse shot under him. He fell in command of his regiment in the assault on St. Sebastian, "where no man outlived the attempt to gain the ridge." He was mentioned in the Duke of Wellington's despatches and in the reports of the enemy for the bravery displayed by him on that occasion. One of the daughters, Hannah,

married as his second wife John Chisholm, V. of Knockfin, with issue—Thomas, a priest in Strathglass, born on the 6th of July, 1807, and died on the 22nd of February, 1872; and Alexander, born on the 19th of November, 1808. Alexander emigrated to Australia, and died at Sydney in 1854. Thomas of Achnacloich died about 1800. Hugh of Aigais married secondly, a daughter of Fraser of Teanacaille, with issue. (2) Hugh Fraser, who was settled by his father in Muilzie, married and had issue—(a) Robert Fraser, who succeeded to Easter Muilzie and Muilzie-Reach, and who in 1751 (marriage contract dated at Guisachan, 3rd August in that year) married Margaret, daughter of William Fraser, VIII. of Guisachan, with issue. It appears from the Account of Charge and Discharge of Captain John Forbes, factor on the forfeited estates of Lovat, appointed by the Barons of Exchequer, that these two places were still in Robert's possession in 1753 as a wadset from Captain James Fraser of Belladrum—but redeemed in 1766—for which he was up till then paying 84 merks, now raised to 300 merks Scots. In 1767 he was tenant also of Wester Muilzie. (b) Hugh Fraser, a brother of Robert, and so described as one of the witnesses to the above-named marriage contract in 1751. (c) Mary, who married William Fraser, III. of Boblainy, with issue. (3) Alexander Fraser, settled by his father, as already stated, in and as VI. of Eskadale, whom see. (4) James Fraser, settled in Polmon. (5) another James, and (6) Simon, both settled in Inchblair. Hugh Fraser of Aigais married thirdly, Magdalen, daughter of Colonel Hugh Fraser, I. of Dunballoch, with issue—William, Andrew, Robert, Margaret, Isobel, Mary, and Amelia. Most of these children—in all thirteen—married and had issue. Having already provided for his sons by the first and second marriages, Hugh was succeeded in Aigais, first by William, his eldest son by the third marriage, and next by Andrew, his second son by the same marriage, but both William and Andrew dying unmarried, they were in turn succeeded by Hugh of Muilzie, son of their younger brother Robert, who predeceased them. Robert Fraser of

Muilzie and Aigais married his cousin, a daughter of John Chisholm, II. of Knockfin.

3. Alexander, mentioned as a son of Eskadale in 1716.

Hugh was succeeded by his eldest son,

IV. THOMAS FRASER, fourth of Eskadale, who is mentioned several times from 1713 to 1718 under that designation. He was one of the principal men who signed the address to George I. on his accession to the Throne in 1714, already repeatedly mentioned. In May 1723, with consent of his eldest son John, he conveyed the lands of Aigais to his next brother Hugh, afterwards known as "Old Father Aigais," Hugh thus becoming the first heritable proprietor of these lands. He married first, Janet Fraser, as stated in his eldest son's marriage contract, referred to below, with issue, by her and a second wife whose name is now unknown, several children. He was succeeded by his eldest son by his first wife,

V. JOHN FRASER, fifth of Eskadale, who is described in 1726 as "John eldest son to Thomas of Escadale." He married Janet (marriage contract dated at Inverness the 26th of January, 1694), eldest daughter of Captain John Mackenzie of Colonel Hill's Regiment, and one of the Dowager Lady Lovat's factors, whose name is already known to the reader, brother of Kenneth Mackenzie, VI. of Davochmaluag, apparently without surviving male issue, for he was succeeded by his cousin,

VI. ALEXANDER FRASER, sixth of Eskadale, second son of John's uncle Hugh—"Old Father Aigais"—by his second wife, a daughter of Fraser of Téanacaille—and described in 1743 as "Portioner of Eskadale." The other portioners seem to have been bought out for him by his father, for he is soon after found in possession of the whole estate. After the battle of Culloden several of the arms of the Frasers were buried at the foot of a rock fronting Eskadale House, still known as "Creag-nan-arm," or the Rock of the arms. He married, with issue—

1. Hugh, his heir and successor.

2. A son, who was an officer in the army, fought through

the American War, and was killed in action, unmarried.

3. Alexander, drowned, unmarried, in the River Beauhy.

4. A daughter, who married Archibald Chisholm, of Fasnakyle, son of Colin Chisholm, I. of Knockfin, with issue.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

VII. CAPTAIN HUGH FRASER, seventh of Eskadale, who is one of the substitutes in General Simon Fraser's entail in 1774. He served in General Blakeney's Regiment of Horse, and was for forty years in the service. He fought at Falkirk, Prestonpans, the siege of Stirling, and at Culloden on the Hanoverian side against Prince Charles, and subsequently during the whole of the American War. He was known as the "Fiery Captain," and many a story is told of his successful duels and other feats of swordmanship. He married Elizabeth Chisholm, with issue—an only daughter, Anne, who inherited her father's estate and carried it to her husband,

VIII. HUGH FRASER, her own cousin, fourth son of Thomas Fraser of Achnacloich (eldest son of "Old Father Aigais," by his first wife, a daughter of the Rev. Donald Fraser of Kilmorack), by his wife Anne, fifth daughter of William Fraser, IX. of Guisachan, by his wife, Margaret Macdonell of Ardnabi. Hugh was born on the 12th of November, 1765. By Anne Fraser of Eskadale he had issue—

1. Hugh, who died unmarried before his father, in Edinburgh, on the 24th of November, 1824.

2. Thomas, who succeeded his parents in Eskadale.

3. William, H.E.I.C.S. He died in India, unmarried.

4. Anne, who, as his first wife, in 1822, married John Mackay, banker, Inverness, and Procurator-Fiscal for the county, without issue. She died in 1825.

5. Eliza, who on the 12th of February, 1822, married Lieutenant-Colonel Chisholm, of the Madras Horse Artillery, H.E.I.C.S., late of Cheltenham, with issue—four sons and two daughters, the only surviving son being Colonel William Chisholm, late Major 40th Madras Native Infantry. He was born on the 3rd of April, 1836, and resides at Cheltenham, unmarried, along with his elder sister Anne

Jane, also unmarried. His other sister, Julian Charlotte, is a nun at Swansea, South Wales.

6. Barbara, who married Captain James Fraser of Ballindown and of the 79th Cameron Highlanders, who served throughout the Peninsular War and received the Waterloo medal, with issue, two daughters—(1) Isabella, who married Lieutenant-Colonel Cumming Clarke, late 76th Regiment, with issue—Josephine Alice Barbara, Ella Gertrude, Juliet Annie, Beatrice Fraser, and Violet Hannah ; (2) Anne, who married the late John Stuart, Inverness, without issue.

7. Sarah, who died unmarried in 1831.

8. Hannah, who died in Inverness, unmarried, on the 23rd of January, 1893.

Hugh died on the 13th of January, 1841, aged 75 years, his wife dying on the 23rd of the same month, when they were succeeded by their second and only surviving son,

IX. THOMAS FRASER, ninth of Eskdale. He was acting as Paris correspondent for the *Morning Chronicle* at the time of the accession of Louis Napoleon and wrote letters from thence which appeared in that paper on account of which he was ordered out of the French Capital, but he was subsequently permitted to remain, the order for his expulsion having been countermanded on the representations of the O'Gorman Mahon and other influential friends there at the time.

In 1853 he sold his beautiful estate to Thomas Alexander Fraser, Lord Lovat, whose lands adjoined it, for £25,000.

In 1865, he married Jane Christina, second daughter of his brother-in-law, John Mackay, banker and Procurator-Fiscal, Inverness, by his second wife, Anne, daughter of Charles Monro of Allan, with issue—

1. Hugh Thomas, who was born on the 24th of May, 1866, and died unmarried on the 10th of June, 1890.

2. Alice Henrietta, the present representative of the family, still unmarried, and residing with her widowed mother in London.

3. Marion Camilla, who died unmarried on the 1st of April, 1889, aged 19 years.

THE FRASERS OF ARDACHY.

THIS family is descended from Alexander, sixth Lord Lovat (see page 103), and, failing the present House of Lovat, the heir-male of Ardachy would become heir-male and chief of the whole clan and succeed to the Scottish Peerage. Lord Alexander had three sons—Hugh, his heir and successor; Thomas of Knockie and Strichen, whose representative now possesses the Lovat estates and honours; and (3) the progenitor of Ardachy,

I. JAMES FRASER, first of this family, who is said to have had a charter of the lands of Ardachy, near Fort-Augustus, from his father Alexander, sixth Lord Lovat, in 1552.

He was succeeded by his son,

II. WILLIAM FRASER, of Boblainy, where the first three heads of the house of Ardachy held lands. He married Katharine, daughter of Duncan Mackenzie, I. of Sand (fifth son of John Roy Mackenzie, IV. of Gairloch, by his (Duncan's) wife, a daughter of Hugh Fraser of Belladrum) and widow of Allan, son and heir of Allan, son of Ranald Gallda Macdonald of Moydart, who fell at Blar-nan-leine in 1544,* with issue—

1. Thomas, who succeeded his father.

2. William, who is probably the William to whom his brother Thomas disposed his rights to Boblainy in 1652.

He was succeeded by his elder son,

III. THOMAS FRASER, third of Ardachy, whose name appears as a witness to a contract of marriage on the 27th of July, 1629, between John Maclean, Younger of Dochgarroch, and Agnes, daughter of Thomas Fraser, III. of Struy, as "Thomas Fraser of Boblainie." He and his spouse, now described as "in Boblainie," have a charter of the lands of Ardachy on the 1st of June, 1637, followed

* *History of the Mackenzies*, new edition, p. 416.

by a sasine thereon on the 6th of the same month and recorded on the 10th of July following. There is a bond by Hugh Lord Lovat in their favour in the same year. Thomas Fraser of Boblainy appears in the Valuation Roll of 1644 for lands in Abertarff—no doubt those of Ardachy—valued at £41 6s 8d. He was infest in the lands of Ardachy in 1649, but still possessed and resided in Boblainy. In 1652 he disposes his tack of Boblainy to William Fraser—apparently his own brother—as appears from the decree of a Baron Bailie's Court held on the 4th of August, 1710, and quoted later on under THE FRASERS OF BOBLAINY.

He was succeeded by

IV. THOMAS FRASER, fourth of Ardachy, described as “his eldest son.” There is a contract of marriage entered into in 1649, during the life of his father, between him and Isobel Mackintosh as his second wife, and a disposition of Ardachy by him in her favour and their heirs in 1657. In the same year he grants a charter to her in life-rent and to the heirs mentioned therein—William, James, and Simon, their three sons—followed by a sasine in her and their favour dated the 30th December, 1657, and recorded on the 24th of February, 1658. His name, designated “of Ardachy,” appears in the proclamation of chiefs and principal men who are to appear at Inverlochy in 1678.

He married, first, a lady whose name has not come down to us, but by whom he had at least female if not male issue, as appears from a document to be quoted later on. The male descendants of this marriage, however, if any, must, from the transactions which followed and the succession of the children of the second marriage to the estate, be held to have become extinct.

By Isobel Mackintosh he had issue—

1. William, who succeeded him.
2. James, who succeeded his brother William.
3. Simon, of whom nothing is known.

Thomas was succeeded by his eldest son by the second marriage,

V. WILLIAM FRASER, fifth of Ardachy, who seems to

have died unmarried, certainly without male issue, for he was succeeded by his next brother,

VI. JAMES FRASER, sixth of Ardachy, who married and had issue—

1. Thomas, his heir and successor.

2. Hugh, who was Captain of an East Indiaman, and died unmarried.

3. James, who left a son named Thomas Og, sometimes called "Buidhe," of whom there were numerous descendants in 1827 described as in reduced circumstances.

James was succeeded by his eldest son,

VII. THOMAS FRASER, seventh of Ardachy, Writer in Edinburgh, as shown by an extract from a retour of the General Charge of Thomas Fraser, "as nearest and lawful heir" to "Thomas Fraser, his grandfather," expedite on the 25th of March, 1729, in virtue of the contract of marriage between the last-named and his second wife, Isobel Mackintosh, dated 1649. This is further established by letters of General Charge at the instance of this Thomas against Thomas Fraser, great-grandson of the deceased Thomas Fraser, IV. of Ardachy, by his first marriage, and dated the 7th of August, 1729, with execution thereon on the 22nd and 23rd of the same month. This great-grandson must have been through female descent. Thomas of Ardachy has a precept of clare constat from "Hugh Lord Lovat" who, at this date must have been Hugh Mackenzie of Fraserdale, on the 2nd of August, 1726, and sasine followed thereon on the 25th of the same month. On the 15th of July, 1730, he obtains a decree in his favour on the passive titles.

He was married and had at least one son,

VIII. THOMAS FRASER, eighth of Ardachy, Collector of Customs at Campbelltown, Argyleshire, who on the 27th of October, 1747, grants a disposition as "Thomas Fraser, son of the said Writer" in Edinburgh, and who has a "retour of the special service of the said Thomas Fraser as nearest and lawful heir of provision of Thomas Fraser of Ardochie, his great-grandfather" expedite before the Sheriff of Inverness-shire on the 26th of September, 1749. He has a

precept from Chancery for infefting him in the lands of Ardachy on the 4th of January, 1752, followed by an instrument of sasine in his favour dated the 20th and recorded in the Particular Register of Sasines at Inverness on the 29th of January in the same year. This Thomas also acquired some property in Argyleshire, to which he probably succeeded in right of his wife. He became involved in a long and expensive litigation, which contributed largely to bring him into financial embarrassment, and both properties—first the one in Argyleshire, and then the one in Inverness-shire—had to be sold. Proceedings for this purpose, with the view of dividing the price realised among his creditors, were taken in the Court of Session in 1759, continued for several years afterwards, and in the process it was found necessary to call upon his eldest son, General Charles Fraser, then a minor, to make up titles to his ancestors, so as to vest a right to the estate in him, and in this way evidence was obtained of the names of the members of the family who intervened between his father Thomas, who succeeded to the estate in 1749, and Thomas Fraser, who had been infeft in the lands of Ardachy in 1649. In one of the papers produced in this action it was set forth that “the said Charles Fraser and his curators lie furth and will not enter him heir in special to the said deceased Thomas Fraser, his father; the deceased James Fraser, his grandfather; the deceased William Fraser, his granduncle; and the deceased Thomas Fraser, sometime in Boblainie, thereafter in Ardochy, his great-grandfather; in all and sundry the lands, heritages, and others aforementioned, viz.—all and haill the lands of Ardochy,” etc.

Ultimately the estate was sold under a decree of sale dated the 13th of February, 1770, in favour of William Fraser of Balnain, W.S., and on the 2nd of August, 1771, registered in the Books of Council and Session. On the 4th of November following, he has a disposition of Ardachy from Lieutenant-General Simon Fraser, eldest son of Simon Lord Lovat, beheaded on the 9th of April, 1747, although how General Simon, who at that time had not the family

estates restored to him, came to have the legal right to dispose of Ardachy is not known. A sasine follows on the 26th of the same month, and it is recorded in the Particular Register of Sasines at Inverness on the 18th of December, all in 1771. On the 6th of November in the same year, only two days after registration, General Simon of Lovat disposes of the estate to William Fraser of Balnain; the latter re-disposes of the same property to the same General Simon Fraser; sasine follows on this re-sale in favour of General Fraser on the 25th of the same month; and it is registered in the Particular Register of Sasines at Inverness on the 18th of December, the same day it will be observed that the sale by General Fraser to Balnain was registered.

The proceeds of the sale were divided among the creditors, according to a scheme of division dated Whitsunday, 1770, and William Fraser of Balnain, as Commissioner for Lieutenant-General Simon Fraser, grants a tack of the lands to Lieutenant John Fraser, dated the 10th of August and 23rd of September, 1771.

Thomas Fraser (who died at Campbelltown on the 3rd of October, 1754*) married about 1735 Charlotte, daughter of Colonel the Hon. Charles Campbell, third son of Archibald, ninth Earl of Argyll, by his wife Lady Mary Stewart, daughter of James Earl of Moray, with issue—several sons, all of whom died young, except

1. Charles, his heir and successor.
2. Charlotte, who married Francis Farquharson of Finzean.
3. Margaret, who married Dr Lachlan Campbell of Lagganlochan, with issue.

Thomas was succeeded by his only surviving son,

IX. GENERAL CHARLES FRASER, ninth of Ardachy, who served for six years in the Royal Marines, which he joined on Tuesday, the 20th of May, 1755. On the 9th of August the same year he embarked on board his Majesty's ship "Essex," in which he was engaged in Sir Edward Hawke's fleet when upwards of one hundred French merchantmen

* *Scots Magazine*.

were captured and detained by the British. In 1762 he joined the military service of the Hon. East India Company, and proceeded the same year to Madras. Having remained there actively employed for the next five years, he returned home on leave, and on the 16th of December, 1768, married at Campbelltown, Argyleshire, Isabella, daughter of Colonel Lionel Hook, and after a year's sojourn in this country they both returned to Madras in 1769. On the 25th of August, 1771, at Vellore, their eldest son was born, and was named Hastings in acknowledgment of several acts of kindness rendered to the father by Warren Hastings, the future famous Governor-General of India, who was at this period a member of the Council at Madras. That great man having been advised of the compliment paid to him, wrote a letter acknowledging it a few days before he left the Presidency of Madras to take up the higher and much more responsible position of second in Council at Calcutta, to Captain Charles, the boy's father, in the following terms:—

“Fort St. George, 15th January, 1772.

“Dear Sir,—I learnt with pleasure from Mr Anderson some time ago the honour which you had done me in making me one of the sponsors to your son. I am much obliged to you and Mrs Fraser for this distinction, though I cannot hope for some years to have the pleasure of seeing my godson, or of being a witness to his growth and improvements. I shall be glad, however, to be informed of the progress which he makes in both, and of his health, and shall be truly interested in his welfare. I take the liberty to send a piece of shawl directed to you, which I request your permission to present as a mere token of affection to my young namesake and to plead a right to his acceptance of it from the relation that you have given me to him. I beg you will present my compliments to Mrs Fraser, and believe me to be, with esteem, yours very faithfully,

(Signed) “WARREN HASTINGS.”

On the 7th of September, 1776, General Simon Fraser of Lovat, as the result of family arrangements following on the litigation already referred to and which had been continued for more than a generation, conveyed the estate of Ardachy to Captain Charles Fraser of the H.E.I.C.S., designed by him as heir-male and representative of Ardachy, on his paying back certain sums of money which “had been advanced for

the purchase of the lands from another member of the family," apparently William Fraser of Balnain, W.S. The deed is registered in the Books of Council and Session on the 18th of September in the same year, and sasine in favour of Captain Charles Fraser follows thereon on the 5th of July, recorded in the Particular Register of Sasines at Inverness on the 6th of August, 1777.

After a further residence of ten years in India Captain Fraser, accompanied by his wife and a family of five sons and three daughters, returned home in 1781 on a second furlough. In 1783 he returned to the East, where in due course he obtained the command of a Brigade, and subsequently became a General of Division, a position which he continued to hold until his death at Masulipatam in 1795.

General Charles, as already stated, on the 16th of December, 1768, married Isabella, daughter of Colonel Lionel Hook, with issue—

1. Hastings, his heir and successor, born at Vellore on the 25th of August, 1771.

2. Charles Campbell, who was born at Madras, on the 22nd of November, 1772, and died at Edinburgh on the 31st of May, 1784.

3. Thomas Fletcher Augustus, who was born on the 6th of May, 1775. He was Aide-de-Camp to his father, General Charles Fraser, for some time, and died unmarried while commanding a Brigade at Secunderabad on the 14th of February, 1822.

4. Pasley Weir, who was born at Madras on the 19th of February, 1778, and drowned at sea on his way out to India to join his father as a cadet by falling overboard in 1795, unmarried.

5. James Stuart, who succeeded his brother Hastings in the family estate.

6. George Dugald, who died at Paris, a youth of fifteen years.

7. Harriet, who on the 17th of February, 1786, in her seventeenth year married, without issue, Colonel Charles, son

of Colonel Charles Campbell of Barbreck, by whom she was divorced a few years afterwards.

8. Elizabeth Emilia, who on the 23rd of November, 1791, when only fifteen years of age, married Colonel Francis Capper, and died without issue on the 29th of January, 1795, at Madras.

9. Isabella, who on the 23rd of May, 1805, married at Mount Capper, Cuddalore, Charles Carpenter, of the Madras Civil Service, who died in India on the 14th of June, 1818, without issue. She died, in London, in August, 1862, aged 83 years. A sister of Charles Carpenter, Charlotte Margaret, married in 1797 Walter, afterwards Sir Walter Scott of Waverley Novel celebrity.

10. Charlotte Catherine, who on the 18th of March, 1816, married Josia Heath, of the Madras Civil Service, with issue—Josia Marshall, who died on the 4th of July, 1876; and Isabella Amelia. Charlotte died at Bath on the 7th of March, 1872.

General Charles Fraser died on the 27th of April, 1795, his widow having outlived him until the 19th of October, 1821, when she died at Mount Capper, Cuddalore, India, at an advanced age. He was succeeded by his eldest son,

X. GENERAL HASTINGS FRASER, C.B., tenth of Ardachy, who was born on the 25th of August, 1771, entered the army as Ensign on the 9th of April, 1788, and was appointed Lieutenant on the 3rd of November, 1790. He served in the campaigns of 1790, 1791, and 1792 in the East Indies, including the siege and storming of Bangalore, the assault on Tippoo's fortified camp, and the subsequent siege of Seringapatam. In 1793 he was present at the siege and capture of Pondicherry, and was at his father's death already a distinguished young officer. He very soon rose to high rank in the army. In 1797 he sailed on the projected Manilla expedition to Penang, and was promoted to a Captaincy on the 29th of March the same year. In 1799, when only in his twenty-eighth year, he led his regiment into action against Tippoo, and was present at the battle of Malavelly and at the siege and storming of Seringapatam. He served also during the

whole of the Polygar War in 1801, received his Majority on the 28th of July the same year for services in that war, and his Lieutenant-Colonelcy on the 7th of September, 1804. He was present at the taking of the Island of Bourbon in 1810. In this expedition he was promoted to the command of a Brigade on which afterwards "the brunt of the fighting fell, and so delighted were those who served under him with his fine qualities as a leader that his own corps presented him with a valuable sword, and the native regiments with a service of silver plate," which was in possession of his late nephew and namesake, Lieutenant-General Hastings Fraser, who only died a few years ago. The sword and the service of plate were accompanied by the following letter, dated the 10th of July, 1810:—

"The officers of his Majesty's 86th Regiment, deeply impressed with a sense of your gallant conduct in the action of 8th inst. and its glorious results, and your kind humane attention to the wounded, beg leave to request your acceptance of a sword of the value of one hundred guineas which we are deputed to present to you in the name of the corps, as a trifling mark of their esteem, admiration, and respect."

In 1813 he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel in the 86th Regiment of Foot, the Royal County Downs, and Colonel on the 4th of June. He was made a Major-General on the 12th of August, 1829, and Hon. Colonel of the 83rd Regiment. He was appointed Lieutenant-General on the 10th of January, 1837; General on the 9th of November, 1846; and got the command of the 61st Regiment of Foot on the 1st of September, 1848.

General Fraser died in London, unmarried, on the 25th of September, 1852, at the ripe old age of 83 years, then Colonel of his old regiment, the Royal County Downs, when he was succeeded in the family estate by his younger and only surviving brother,

XI. GENERAL JAMES STUART FRASER, eleventh of Ardachy, who was born at Edinburgh, on the 1st of July, 1783. He was educated first at Ham, in Surrey, and subsequently at the University of Glasgow until he was sixteen years old, when in 1799, he went out to Madras

as a cadet, and was immediately on his arrival posted to the 18th Regiment of Native Foot. His promotion for those days, when advancement in the army was regulated almost entirely by seniority, was remarkably rapid. On the 15th of July, 1800, he obtained his Lieutenancy, and on the 16th of November, 1809, he was appointed Captain. In 1819 he became Major; Lieutenant-Colonel in 1824; full Colonel in 1829; appointed Colonel of the 36th Native Infantry on the 26th of September, 1835, and Major-General on the 28th of June, 1838, all before he was fifty-five years of age. But his rise in the line of special and select employment was even more marked than his advance in the purely military grades of the army, rapid as that was. As early as 1807 he was appointed Assistant in the Political and Military Department to Lieutenant-Colonel Marriott while that officer was engaged in transporting the families of the Princes of Mysore, descendants of Hyder Ali and Tippoo, from the Carnatic to Bengal in that year by land. In 1808, Sir George Barlow, who was at the time officiating at Calcutta as Governor-General, waiting the arrival of Lord Minto, seems to have taken particular notice of the character and ability of this young officer, and when in that year Sir George himself received the appointment of Governor of Madras he selected Lieutenant James Stuart Fraser, a handsome young officer six feet three inches in height, as his Aide-de-Camp and private secretary *pro tem*. In May 1810 he joined the force embarked for the invasion of the Mauritius as Deputy-Commissary and served on the personal staff of Colonel Keating, who commanded that expedition, in all the actions which took place until the surrender of the island. From 1811 to 1814 he was Town Major of Fort St. George and Military Secretary to the Governor; and in 1815 he was appointed Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army Reserve under the personal command of the Commander-in-Chief, who highly commended him for his conduct. On the conclusion of these operations he was appointed Joint-Commissioner with Colonel Caldwell, and afterwards sole Commissioner for conducting the restitution of the French

settlements on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel under the treaty concluded in Paris in 1814, and for restoring the settlement at Tranquebar, under the Treaty of Kiel negotiated in the same year, to the Danes. Next year he was appointed Commandant of Pondicherry, but in 1815, after the battle of Waterloo, he resumed his old post and continued to superintend the numerous "delicate and intricate points, diplomatic, judicial, and administrative, consequent on the interruption of French rule for twenty-five years, which were eventually decided to the satisfaction of both the English and French Governments by the judicious and well-considered proceedings of Captain Fraser." The Government of India repeatedly thanked and recommended him for "the marked ability and the conciliatory disposition" which had distinguished his conduct throughout every stage of these delicate proceedings and laborious negotiations, while at the same time it secured for him warm expressions of gratitude and esteem from the representatives of the Government of France. These negotiations were not concluded by him until the end of 1819, when in consequence of his mastery of the French language and other special qualifications he was appointed Special Agent for conducting the correspondence of the Indian Government with all the foreign settlements. In 1825, having, as we have seen, in the previous year attained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, he was selected as the Commissioner to take possession of the Dutch settlements within the Presidency of Madras ceded to Great Britain on the 17th of March, 1824, by the Treaty of London, and on the final transfer of the Dutch establishments the Government of Fort St. George wrote him a letter dated the 1st of February, 1828, in which they expressed "the highest satisfaction and the most perfect confidence in his performance" of the most important and delicate duties which had been entrusted to him. On the 5th of December, 1839, he was appointed British Resident at the Court of the Nizam of Hyderabad, at a salary of £6600 a year, where he showed great capacity and uprightness of character, but having disagreed with the

great Marquis of Dalhousie who, during General Fraser's residence there, differed with his subordinate as to the policy of annexing Berar—an important portion of the territory of the Nizam—which the Resident disapproved of, General Fraser resigned his appointment on the 31st of December, 1852, and returned to Great Britain early in the following year. The *Madras Spectator* of the 11th of March, 1853, says that "he has long and ably filled some of the highest political appointments in the Company's gifts, with honour to himself and advantage to their Government. His differences with his superiors however rendered his Hyderabad services less fortunate and conspicuous than his superior talents, experience, and unblemished character might have led people to expect," but "he bears with him a highly honourable name and the respect of all who knew him." On the day of his resignation he received the following address, signed by the whole East Indian community—

"Sir—We, the undersigned East Indian community of Chudderghat, impelled by a deep sense of our obligations to you, beg to wait upon you with this address, which we hope will in some measure convey our feelings on the occasion of your retirement and departure from India.

"We do not approach you for the mere ostentatious display of our sentiments; but with unfeigned respect for your many estimable qualities, and a feeling of sincere sorrow for your departure.

"We view with much regret the close of your career at Hyderabad, where for a period of upwards of fourteen years your efforts have been directed not only to the improvements of the Government of the country, but to the general welfare of the people.

"Independently of your attention to individual interests brought more immediately to your notice, as a community we have received favours during your Residency for which we cannot be too thankful.

"It would perhaps be needless to detail the instances of your beneficence; but we desire to record our sense of lasting gratitude for the special benefits which we, as well as our children, now enjoy. We allude to the school and the place of public worship founded under your auspices, and mainly contributed to and supported by you.

"For these advantages we cannot be too grateful. They will remind us of the lively interest you manifested for our welfare, and the loss we sustain in your departure.

"In testimony of the high respect we entertain of your private and

public worth, and as a small mark of our sense of gratitude, we respectfully solicit your acceptance of a piece of plate, which Messrs Phillips & Co. of Madras have been instructed to present to you on your arrival at the Presidency.

"We now respectfully beg to bid you and your family farewell, with a sincere prayer for your prosperous voyage to your native land, where, by the blessing of a kind Providence, we trust you will enjoy many years of uninterrupted health and happiness."

General Fraser left Madras on his way home, in the Peninsular and Oriental steamer *Bentinck*, on the 11th of March 1853, under a salute of fifteen guns. He had been appointed Lieutenant-General on the 9th of November, 1846. He went back to India on a visit to his friends, and having returned home spent the remainder of his life at different places in this country.

General James Stuart Fraser, at the time British Commissioner at Pondicherry, married at Cuddalore, on the 18th of July 1826, Henrietta Jane, daughter of Edward Stevenson, of the Admiralty-Agency on the Eastern Coast of India, and niece of General Stevenson, who in command of the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force of the Nizam's troops co-operated with the Hon. General Arthur Wellesley, afterwards the famous Duke of Wellington, in the campaign of Assaye and Argaum. By this lady, General Fraser had issue—

1. Hastings, his heir and successor, born on the 30th of October, 1829.

2. Charles, born in India on the 16th of August, 1831, an officer in the Indian Cavalry, and died there, unmarried.

3. Henry, who was born in 1835 and married Kate, daughter of Captain John Coghlan Fitzgerald, Royal Navy, with issue—Charles, born on the 2nd of April, 1883, and Agnes Mary.

4. Harriet, who, on the 6th of February 1849, married James Duncan Sim, C.S.I., of the Madras Civil Service, son of General Duncan Sim, Royal Engineers, Aberdeen, with issue—(1) James Duncan Stuart, born on the 3rd of November, 1849, and married on the 22nd of September, 1887, Frances Nora Prittie, daughter of Nathaniel Gore, with issue—Bueth Vernon and Nora Gertrude; (2) William Hastings,

born on the 13th of July, 1851, and died, unmarried, on the 26th of October, 1875; (3) Charles John, born on the 20th of December, 1854; (4) Henry Alexander, born on the 16th of February, 1856; (5) Arthur Fraser, born on the 2nd of November, 1861, and died on the 29th of October, 1895, while engaged in missionary work for the Universities Mission in Nyasaland, British Central Africa; (6) Hugh Macleod, born on the 8th of July, 1866, and died at Madras in the following October; (7) Roderick, born on the 27th of December, 1867; (8) Hugh, who died in infancy; (9) Catherine Helen, who, on the 27th of February, 1875, married Arundel Tagg Arundel, with issue—Arthur Duncan Stuart, born on the 4th of October, 1882; Edith Mary, who died in 1889; Violet Harriet, Marion Fraser, and Margaret Ellen, the last of whom died in her fourth year; (10) Harriet Alice; (11) Henrietta Margaret; (12) Ruth Agnes, who, in 1887, married the Rev. John Wakefield Willink, vicar of St. Helens, Lancashire, with issue—Arthur James Wakefield, born on the 17th of May, 1890; Mary Cecilia Wakefield; and Helen Dorothy Wakefield; (13) Mary Esther, who died in infancy. James Duncan Sim died on the 4th of January, 1888, his wife having predeceased him on the 12th of April, 1882.

5 Agnes, who died unmarried in India.

6. Maria, who married Dr Thomas Lancaster Bell of the Nizam's Hyderabad Irregular Cavalry, without issue. She married, secondly, on the 15th of October, 1856, General Charles Maxton Shakespear, H.E.I.C.S., also without issue, and now resides in London.

7. Isabella, who on the 1st of July, 1868, married at Torquay, Captain Henry Lorne Holder, Royal Navy, with issue—Henry John Voyle Shakespear, born on the 17th of September, 1874; Isabel Fanny; Mary Julia; and Mabel Harriet.

8. Matilda Flora, who married Colonel Robert Bullock, Madras Staff Corps, without issue.

General Fraser's wife died at Newton, South Devon, on the 5th of March, 1860, at the age of fifty years, and he died

at Twickenham, England, on the 22nd of August, 1869, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

XII. GENERAL HASTINGS FRASER, C.B., twelfth of Ardachy, who followed the example of his father by joining the army of the Hon. East India Company. He was born on the 30th of October, 1829, was educated at the Kensington Grammar School, obtained his first commission as Ensign on the 20th of January, 1847, and proceeded to join his father at Hyderabad in that year. He joined the 37th Grenadiers at Secunderabad, but subsequently left it for the 46th Madras Native Infantry, then at Jubbulpore. On the 20th of April, 1853, he obtained the rank of Lieutenant, and in the same year left the 46th and joined his Highness the Nizam's Cavalry, then part of the Hyderabad Contingent. In 1857 he was actively employed with his regiment, and accompanied the Field Force under Colonel W. Orr to Mhow in October of that year, where they had some lively skirmishes with the Zemindars. In the same month he joined the Bombay column before Dhar, and was present with the 4th Cavalry Hyderabad Contingent at Rawul on the 12th of November, when the Mahidpoor mutineers were, after long forced marches, overtaken, several hundreds of them slain, and a complete battery, including siege guns and their accompaniments, captured. Young Fraser was specially mentioned for conspicuous gallantry on this occasion in a letter from the Resident, dated the 28th of the same month. He was afterwards present with the Field Force under Sir James Stuart, K.C.B., at the battle of Mundisoor, and was specially thanked for his services on the 21st, 22nd, 23rd, and 24th, in Government General Orders by Colonel Orr, C.B., dated the 29th of January, 1858. He was present at forcing the Pass of Dhamonee under Colonel Orr, shortly afterwards joined the Central Indian Field Force under Sir Hugh Rose, G.C.B., and was at the action of Muddenpoor and in the pursuit which followed, when a considerable number of the mutineers were cut up, for which he received the thanks

of Sir Hugh Rose, who commanded. He joined in the operations against Tal Behat, was present before Jhansi from the 20th of March to the 15th of April, and he commanded the 3rd Cavalry Hyderabad Contingent at the battle of Betwah during the greater part of the day. He was thanked for his conduct at these places, being specially mentioned by Sir Hugh Rose as "Lieutenant Fraser, Staff Officer of the Hyderabad Contingent," for "gallantly killing three of the enemy at the general action of the Betwah," and subsequently by General Orr, C.B. for his conduct at Koouch. He was at Kilowah in 1858, for which he was thanked, was again specially noticed by Sir Hugh Rose in General Orders in the following year "for unwearied zeal and good service during the whole of the campaign in Central India," and thanked by Colonel Orr for "his gallantry before the enemy." He received the medal and clasp for Central India, and on the 18th of February, 1861, was promoted to the rank of Captain, with a recommendation that he should at the same time, in acknowledgment of his conspicuous gallantry and distinguished services during the campaign, receive a Brevet Majority, which recommendation the Horse Guards, for some unexplained reason, did not give effect to. On his return from Central India he was on the recommendation of the British Resident at Hyderabad, "with the cordial approval of the Nizam's Durbar," transferred to that Residency as Second Assistant Resident.

The foregoing particulars of the late General Hastings are, with slight corrections as to dates, taken from an account of his early career in India in the *Bombay Gazette* on his departure from the country, and the leading Hyderabad newspaper in referring to it describes the stirring narrative as "interesting details connected with the illustrious and honourable career of the gallant officer who forms the subject of this review," adding that previous to the Mutiny Lieutenant Fraser "elicited the warm acknowledgments of the Resident at Hyderabad for the rapid march which he made with a squadron of cavalry, and the dash

with which he captured some Arabs, who could only be got at through a trap door, through which he entered at the head of a dismounted party of his horsemen, and compelled the Arabs to lay down their arms." The narrative from the *Bombay Gazette* continues—"We are now told of an episode which forms a part of the history of Hyderabad. It is one which, but for the forethought and cool daring of Lieutenant Fraser, might have led to disastrous results. The story is this. At a durbar held in the Nizam's palace at which Colonel Davidson, the Resident, was present, a Rohilla, Jehangeer Khan, fired a shot in the courtyard by which one of the Minister's attendants was hit in the leg. This was followed by a tremendous hustling. Jehangeer Khan then drew his sword. The staff, with the exception of Lieutenant Hastings Fraser, withdrew towards the Nizam's garden. Lieutenant Fraser at the sight of Jehangeer with the drawn sword, unsheathed his weapon and bounded between the parties, ready for action if the man attempted to proceed further. Fortunately there was no need for this, as the man did not relish a contest with the colossal figure before him, and he was taken prisoner. Lieutenant Hastings Fraser was highly commended for his judgment in not having cut down the ruffian—not a difficult thing for one who is accredited with having killed over fifty mutineers in the then recent campaign, and with having a hand-to-hand encounter with three of them at once at the battle of Betwah. Had Lieutenant Fraser cut the man down, his friends or co-religionists might have joined in the melee and raised the ire of the whole Mohammedan population in sympathy with the would-be assassin. From this period to 1866 Captain Fraser remained at Hyderabad, occasionally acting, on Colonel Davidson's recommendation to Government, as First Assistant Resident; and we are glad to find that the expectations the Resident had of the capabilities of the gallant Captain were realised, and that on the lapse of a year he was able to report that 'Captain Hastings Fraser throughout the year had conducted the duties of First Assistant Resident in a most efficient, industrious, and able

manner.' We learn from Sir Richard Temple's commendation of the gallant Captain that he had not confined his work as First Assistant Resident to the ordinary routine of civil, military, and magisterial duties, but that he was the first to introduce sanitary arrangements, accompanied with such improvements in the roads and buildings at the place that they elicited the praise of even Sir Richard Temple while Resident at Hyderabad." Sir Richard, then Mr Temple, referring to this matter says that he "cannot close this minute without placing on record his own satisfaction at the condition of the bazaars. In point of cleanliness and general appearance they are not inferior to any that he has seen in any part of India, and the signs of recent improvements are everywhere apparent. This he believes to be due, in the first instance, to the interest and attention which Captain Hastings Fraser, the Assistant Resident, devoted to the subject." Much more of the same kind might be recorded, but enough has been said to show the ability and character of this fine Highlander. He founded a school for native youths at Hyderabad, and had a hand in various other works of lasting benefit to its inhabitants. During the eight years he occupied the magisterial bench it is calculated that he tried more than fifteen thousand cases, with only three appeals during the whole of that period against his decisions. After nearly twenty years of duty in India, says the authority already quoted, Captain Fraser availed himself of the leave he was entitled to, and proceeded to England. Whilst here his opinion on the vexed question then before Parliament of the non-payment to the Nizam's Government of the surplus revenue of the Berars was invited, with the happy result that the Nizam's Government has ever since had the revenue paid to them.

In 1866 he published *Our Faithful Ally the Nizam*, a work which at the time excited the attention of everyone interested in Indian affairs. On the 20th of January, 1867, he received his Majority. In 1868 he returned to Hyderabad, when he was appointed, not to his old post of First Assistant Resident but to that of Military Secretary,

a position which he continued to occupy for the next fifteen years, until his health broke down in March, 1883, when on medical advice he took a trip to Australia. He returned to Hyderabad in the following year. He was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel on the 20th of January, 1873, and full Colonel on the 20th of January, 1878. He finally left India in 1884, and settled down at the family Highland residence of Ardachy in the county of Inverness, from which place, he, in 1885, sent forth his *Memoir and Correspondence of General James Stuart Fraser*, his father, the dedication to his second wife, "Charlotte Elizabeth Mackenzie Fraser," being dated at Ardachy, in September, 1884. He was promoted to the rank of Major-General on the 31st of March, 1889, created a C.B. on the 25th of May, 1886, and Lieutenant-General in 1892. He had a good service pension and a medal and clasp for Central India.

General Hastings Fraser married first on the 3rd of February, 1853, Catherine Jane, daughter of Hugh Davidson of Cantray, with issue—

1. Hastings Hugh, unmarried.

2. James Stuart Davidson, who when barely of age proceeded to Burmah, where he received an appointment as Inspector of Police. From thence he went to Papun, and soon after was stricken down with malarial fever from the effects of which he never quite recovered. He was subsequently promoted to the more responsible post of Superintendent of Police at Rangoon, and then to be Town Magistrate of the same city. In all these situations he proved himself a most devoted and capable official. He was highly esteemed by all his colleagues and the European residents in Burmah. In 1894 he came home on sick leave, died in London unmarried on the 18th of December of that year, and was interred in the family burying-ground of the Davidsons, his mother's relatives, in the Highlands, on the following Monday.

3. Cuthbert Anthony, who was born on the 26th of November, 1859, and in 1879 appointed Assistant District Superintendent of the Indian Police in the Hyderabad

Assigned District and is now District Superintendent for the same Province. He is still unmarried.

4. Charles Henry, who died young and unmarried in India in 1879.

5. Lovat George, who also died young.

6. Frank, in the Indian Postal Department, still unmarried.

The General's first wife died in March, 1869, and on the 23rd of October, 1876, he married, secondly, Charlotte Elizabeth Mackenzie, daughter of David James Smeaton of Abbey Park, St. Andrews, and Letham House, county of Fife, with issue—

7. David Pasley, born on the 29th of August, 1877.

8. D'Arcy Mackenzie, born on the 14th of October, 1878.

9. Robert Smeaton, born on the 11th of March, 1881, and died on the 19th of March, 1883.

Lieutenant-General Fraser died on the 19th of October, 1892, at Bedford, England, in his 63rd year, survived by his second wife, who now resides at Richmond, Surrey.

THE FRASERS OF BOBLAINY.

THIS family seems to have been a younger branch of the Frasers of Ardachy. All the evidence available points to this, though we have not been able to fix the exact connection. In fact, as stated in the account of that family just given, Boblainy was the original possession of James and William, first and second of Ardachy; and Thomas Fraser, the third of the family, is in 1629 described in a marriage contract already quoted as "Thomas Fraser of Boblainie," while he and his spouse have a charter of Ardachy dated the 1st of June, 1637. This Thomas, III. of Ardachy, has been shown to have lived and to have executed important documents as late as 1658. He appears in the Valuation Roll for the county of Inverness for 1644, as "Thomas Fraser of Boblainie," for lands in Abertarff—no doubt those of Ardachy—valued at £41 6s 8d. The Frasers of Ardachy, had undoubtedly the lands of Boblainy on a long tack, and this tack, which they had from Lord Lovat, was transferred by Thomas in 1652 to William Fraser, apparently his own brother. This transfer is proved by the decree of a Baron Bailie's Court held by "William Fraser, son to Drumballoch, Baillive speciallie constitute by Major Alexander Mackenzie of Fraserdale" on the 4th of August, 1710. The decree bears that Thomas Fraser, then of Boblainy, produced a tack, dated as far back as 1652, from Thomas Fraser of Ardachy to his (Boblainy's) predecessor, described as "ane tack from my Lord Lovat to Thomas Fraser of Ardochie of the lands of Boblainie and dispooned from him (Ardachy) to umquhill William Fraser, the said Boblainie's father, dated 1652 years, whereby and be virtue of the which tack he possessed the lands of Boblainie, with the haill graisings," etc. From this it is clear that the ancestor of the later Frasers of Boblainy was

I. WILLIAM FRASER, to whom his relative Thomas

Fraser, III. of Ardachy, but still of Boblainy, disposed his rights to these lands in 1652.

He was succeeded by his son,

II. THOMAS FRASER, second of Boblainy, who in 1695 received from Hugh, eleventh Lord Lovat, a wadset over the "town and lands of Boblainie" in security for a loan of £1000 Scots, the contract being dated the 5th of March in that year and registered on the 24th of May, 1749. He is one of the principal heritors who signed the address to George I. in 1714, signing it as "T. Fraser of Boblainie." He married Anna Macbean, with issue—

1. William, his heir and successor.

2. Thomas, who in 1727 (contract dated 7th of September) married Jean, daughter of Matthew Paterson of Bught, Inverness, with issue—(1) Simon, born in 1732, a merchant in Inverness, to whom his uncle William transferred all his rights to the lands of Boblainy in 1770. Simon also acquired Barnhill in 1788 from Donald Cuthbert then residing in London. He died unmarried in 1802 at the age of 70 years, leaving his property to his cousin Hugh, who thus became IV. of Boblainy, and who erected a tablet to his benefactor's memory in the High Church of Inverness. (2) Jean, who married Captain John Petrie, H.E.I.C.S. She died in 1801.

3 Hugh, who married Mary Fraser, Kiltarlity, who died in 1791, with issue—(1) William, a planter in St. Vincent, who died there unmarried; (2) Thomas, also a planter in St. Vincent, who on the 14th of July, 1793, married with issue—(a) Simon, born in 1795; (b) William, born in 1796; (c) Thomas, born in 1797; (d) Hugh, born in 1801; and (e) Katharine, who died in infancy. Of their descendants, if any exist, nothing is known; (3) Grizel, who married her cousin, Hugh Fraser, last of Killachy. He disposed the lands of Killachy in her favour on the 10th of June, 1769. She died in 1795. (4) Katharine, who married Alexander Fraser, in Inchroary; (5) Ann.

4. Katharine, who married William Fraser of Killachy (marriage contract dated 7th of April, 1705), son of the

Alexander Fraser to whom the lands of Killachy were disposed in 1672 in perpetual voluntary tack by his brother Hugh Fraser, VI. of Guisachan. Alexander by his wife, Isobel, daughter of Alexander Fraser of Reelick, had issue— (1) Hugh, who married, first, Isobel, daughter of William Fraser of Teanacaille, and secondly, Grizel, his own cousin, as already mentioned, in both cases without issue. (2) Alexander, who married, with issue—a son William, who made an unsuccessful claim to the lands of Killachy in 1813.

Thomas was succeeded by his eldest son,

III. WILLIAM FRASER, third of Boblainy, who married Mary (who died in 1774), daughter of Hugh Fraser of Muilzie, second son of Hugh Fraser, "Old Father Aigais." On the 28th of March, 1755, he disposed the lands of Boblainy "to his wife in liferent and in the event of her entering into a second marriage restricted to an annuity of 50 merks." The sasine is witnessed by her brother, Robert Fraser of Muilzie, who married Margaret, eldest daughter of William Fraser, VIII. of Guisachan. The wadset was redeemed by the Government Commissioners on the Lovat estates before 1768, the greater part of the lands being thereafter held under lease. The remainder was appropriated by Captain John Forbes, the Government factor, for planting what subsequently became known as Boblainy Park. William disposed of all his rights to the lands in 1770 to his nephew, Simon Fraser, merchant, Inverness—who had previously advanced him money—and died in the following year. By his wife, Mary Fraser of Muilzie, he had issue—

1. Hugh, his heir.
2. Thomas, who died unmarried in St. Vincent in 1800.
3. Katharine, who married John Chisholm, Inverness.
4. Mary, who married John Cameron, Clachnaharry.
5. Ann, who married John Macdonald, Invercannich.

William was succeeded as representative of the family by his eldest son,

IV. HUGH FRASER, who, on the death of his cousin Simon unmarried in 1802, succeeded to Boblainy, as also

to the lands of Barnhill, Inverness, the latter of which he sold in 1816 to the Hon. Mrs Fraser of Lovat for £3600. He married Margaret Bayne, with issue—

1. Margaret, born in 1784 and married William Fraser, Beaully, with issue.

2. Isobel, born in 1788 and died unmarried in 1813.

3. Mary, born in 1790, and married in 1809 Donald Fraser, brewer, Inverness, son of Donald Fraser, tacksman of Holm, now Lentrán, with issue—(1) Donald, M.A., born in 1818. He died in 1890 unmarried. (2) Hugh, M.A., born in 1820, and succeeded to his father in Balloch, Culloden. He married on the 24th of June, 1852, Augusta Mary, daughter of John Smith, Mus. Doc., and Professor of Music in Trinity College, Dublin, with issue—(a) Donald William, born in 1857, and now in the London and River Plate Bank, Montevideo; (b) John Smith, M.A., solicitor, Inverness, who, born in 1862, married in 1889 Constance Millicent, youngest daughter of William Cooper, Dublin, with issue; (c) Alexander, born in 1864, with his father at Balloch; (d) Mary, who in 1873 married John Rose, Leanach, with issue; (e) Frances Catherine Smith, who in 1883 married William Cameron, engineer, Japanese Royal Navy, who died in 1893, with issue; (f) Clara Jane Simpson; and (g) Elizabeth Augusta, both still unmarried. (3) Alexander, born in 1822. He was for more than thirty years agent for the Commercial Bank of Scotland in Beaully and Inverness, for twelve years member of the Town Council and from 1880 to 1883 Provost of Inverness. He married in 1864 Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. John Spray, M.A., Vicar of Kinneagh, County Kildare, Ireland, with issue—(a) Alexander, born in 1865, solicitor, Inverness, who in 1893 married Isabella, daughter of Colonel Duncan Menzies, Blarich, Sutherlandshire, with issue; (b) John Spray, who died in infancy; (c) Hugh Ernest, born in 1867, M.A. and M.B., C.M., practising his profession in Inverness; (d) Henry William, born in 1870, now in the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank, Yokohama; (e) Arthur Forbes, born in 1874; (f) Elizabeth Mary, who in 1891 married

Theodore Charles Barclay, planter, Sumatra, with issue; (g) Augusta Clara Jane; (h) Emily Catherine; and (i) Emma Caroline, who died in infancy. (4) John, born in 1824, and died unmarried in Liverpool in 1876; (5) Anabella; (6) Isabel; and (7) Mary, who all died young.

4. Katharine, born in 1792, and married Alexander Cameron, Beaulieu, with issue—one son and several daughters.

5. Ann, born in 1796, and married Thomas Fraser, Fortrose, with issue, several sons and daughters.

6. Madeline, born in 1799, and married Theodore Macdonell, Beaulieu, with issue—a son and daughter.

THE WELSH (CLAIMANT) FRASERS.

I. ALEXANDER FRASER, eldest son of Thomas Fraser of Beaufort, twelfth Lord Lovat—said by John Fraser, who claims the Lovat titles and estates as his direct male descendant, to have fled to Wales about 1692, to escape punishment for having killed a fiddler or, according to others, a piper at a wedding near Beaulieu—is alleged to have been the first of this family. The present Frasers of Lovat deny this, and at the trial before the House of Lords in 1885 they produced what purported to be a certificate of Alexander's death, on the 20th of November 1689. It would be quite out of place here to enter into the merits of the case. It is, however, only fair to state what that claim is, especially as other good families as well as John Fraser claim descent from Alexander. John Fraser, the claimant, maintained before the House of Lords in 1885—not 1887 as printed in error on page 244, to which and the page preceding it the reader is referred for a fuller statement of the case—that Alexander, eldest son of Thomas Fraser of Beaufort, twelfth Lord Lovat, and elder brother of Simon, thirteenth Lord Lovat, fled to Wales as already stated, and there, on the 22nd of March, 1738, married at Llandulas, county of Denbigh, Elizabeth Edwards, with issue—

1. John, his eldest son ; 2. Simon ; 3. William.

4. Alexander, from whom a family of Frasers in Nova-Scotia claim descent, and of whom presently.

Alexander Fraser, according to the claimant in 1885, died in 1776, when he was succeeded, as representative of the family, by his eldest son,

II. JOHN FRASER, who, born in 1739, married on the

3rd of October, 1773, in the parish of Penmynydd, Mary Griffiths, with surviving issue—

1. John, his eldest son ; 2. Simon ; 3. William.

John died at Cerigybleiddian in 1828, in his 88th year, when he was succeeded by his eldest surviving son,

III. JOHN FRASER, who was baptised on the 6th of August, 1780, and married on the 4th of August, 1801, Ann Davies, in the parish of Llanwenllwyfo, County of Anglesey, with issue—

1. John, his eldest son ; 2. William ; 3. David.

John died in June, 1857, at Amlwch, Anglesey, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

IV. JOHN FRASER, who was born at Holywell, Flintshire, in 1802, and married in 1824 at Llaneilian, Anglesey, Elizabeth Williams, with issue—

1. John, his eldest son.

2. William ; 3. Simon ; 4. David.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

V. JOHN FRASER, the present claimant to the Lovat estates and honours. He was born on the 16th of April, 1825, and in 1845 married, first, Catherine Williams, with issue—

1. John, his eldest son, born in 1847, and married in 1874 Ellenor Edwards, with issue—John Alexander, born in May, 1885 ; Ellenor, Catherine, and Annie.

2. Robert ; 3. William ; 4. Richard ; 5. David ; 6. Elizabeth.

John Fraser married secondly on the 29th of March, 1888, Augusta Cox, without issue.

THE WELSH-NOVA-SCOTIAN FRASERS.

I. ALEXANDER FRASER, fourth son of Alexander Fraser, eldest son of Thomas Fraser of Beaufort, twelfth Lord Lovat, was, according to the Nova-Scotian representatives of the family, their progenitor. (See preceding Family.) This Alexander, who died in Inverness in 1815, married Miss Cameron, said to be of the family of Lochiel, with issue—an only son,

II. THE HON. JAMES FRASER, who was born in 1759, and emigrated to Nova Scotia, where he became a prominent public man, and was a member of the Executive Council of that Province. He married at Windsor, Nova Scotia, in 1802, Rachael Otis, daughter of Benjamin De Wolfe, The Grove, Windsor, with issue—

1. James De Wolfe, his heir.

2. Benjamin De Wolfe Fraser, who was born in 1812, and married in 1843 Elizabeth, daughter of the Hon. Joseph Allison, with issue—(1) Joseph Allison, born in 1845, now residing, unmarried, at Battleford, North West Territory, Dominion of Canada; (2) Benjamin de Wolfe, who was born in 1847, and married Harriet Cottle, New South Wales. He died in 1883. (3) James De Wolfe, born in 1848, and now residing, unmarried, in Colorado; (4) Charles Frederick, who was born in 1850. He is Superintendent of the School for the Blind in Halifax, Nova Scotia, and President of the North British Saint Andrew's Society in that city. He married in 1891, Ella J., daughter of James Hunter, St. John's, New Brunswick. (5) Alexander Milne, born in 1864. He married Rose G., daughter of John Blanchard, of Kentville, Nova Scotia, and resides in Halifax, in that Province; (6) Mary Allison, who in 1883 married Lewis Wilkins, of Windsor, Nova Scotia, and now resides in Victoria, North British Columbia; (7)

Rachael Otis, who, in 1879, married the Rev. Charles Churchward, Devonshire, England. She died in 1881. (8) Alina De Gonville, who married Charles W. Bayzant, Windsor, Nova Scotia, and died in 1877; and (9) Anna Hill, who, in 1890, married the Rev. James Simmonds. Benjamin De Wolfe Fraser had several other children who died young. He died in 1888.

3. Francis, born in 1809, and died unmarried in 1827.

4. Sarah Rachael, who, born in 1803, married in 1824, General Sir Charles Gore, G.C.B. and K.H., Lieutenant-Governor of Chelsea Hospital, third son of Arthur Saunders, K.P., second Earl of Arran, by his third marriage, with issue—(1) James Arthur, Major 71st Regiment, who on the 19th of July, 1854, married Catherine Louise, third daughter of Colonel Bazalgette, with issue—Arthur, born on the 10th of July, 1857; Edward John Mounsey, born in 1863; and a daughter Catherine; (2) Charles Clitherow, Colonel 83rd Regiment, born on the 9th of September, 1839, and on the 27th of January, 1875, married Maria Harriet Elizabeth, youngest daughter of Lady Louisa and the late Rev. Thomas Cator, with issue—Charles Savile Lumley, born in 1876; (3) Frederick Augustus, Lieutenant-Colonel in the 84th Regiment, born on the 8th of May, 1844, and married Alice, daughter of E. W. S. Scheuley; (4) Eliza Amelia, who, on the 20th of September, 1848, married William Henry, eighteenth Earl of Erroll, Hereditary Lord High Constable and Knight Marischal of Scotland, with issue—the present Earl of Erroll, and others; (5) Adelaide Rachael, who, on the 10th of March, 1864, married General George Whitworth Talbot Rich, 71st Highlanders. The Hon. Sir Charles Gore died on the 4th of September, 1869.

5. Harriet, who was born in 1806, and in 1826 married Colonel Henry Dixon, with issue—along with five others who died in infancy—(1) Thomas Fraser, who, born in 1832, married in 1856, Clara, daughter of Colonel Edward Antrobus; (2) Henry, who, born in 1842, married in 1872 Alicia Kate Chandler; (3) Charles Tempest, born in 1848; (4) Arthur Noel, born in 1852, now residing in Liverpool;

(5) Francis E. Maclean, born in 1850; (6) Catherine Townley, who, born in 1827, married in 1845 Lewis George Jones. She died in 1873. (7) Emily Georgiana, born in 1828, and married in 1853, the Rev. G. H. Philips; (8) Harriet Rachael, born in 1830, and married in 1853, Richard Hamilton; (9) Charlotte Anne, born in 1835, now residing in York; (10) Henrietta Maria, born in 1839, and married in 1870 the Rev. Ernest C. Tollemache. Harriet Fraser died in 1880.

6. Amelia, born in 1808 and died unmarried in 1837.

7. Catherine, born in 1813 and married in 1835 the Rev. Dr Suther, Bishop of Aberdeen.

8. Mary, born in 1815 and died young in 1822.

The Hon. James Fraser died in 1822, when he was succeeded as representative of the family by his eldest son,

III. JAMES DE WOLFE FRASER, who was born in 1805 and married in Nova Scotia in 1839 Catherine, daughter of the Hon. Charles R. Prescott, with issue—

1. James, his eldest son, a Colonel in the British Army. He was born in 1841, and highly distinguished himself in the Maori War in New Zealand. He died unmarried in 1870.

2. Charles Ralmage, who was born in 1843 and married at Racine, Wisconsin, U.S.A., in 1866, Mary Elizabeth Vande Mark, with issue—(1) James De Wolfe, born in 1867; (2) Arthur Gore, born in 1875, both residing with their parents in Chicago; and four other children, who died in infancy.

3. Ann Elizabeth, born in 1842 and married in 1864 Maynard Bowman, of Windsor, Nova Scotia, with issue—(1) Charles, now of Lethbridge, North West Territory, Dominion of Canada; (2) Maynard; (3) Benjamin Almon; (4) Annie Fraser; and (5) Fredericka Christie, the last-named four now residing with their parents in the City of Halifax, Nova Scotia, unmarried.

THE FRASERS OF FAIRFIELD.

THE Frasers of Fairfield are descended from,

I. THOMAS ROY FRASER, a natural son of Hugh, third Lord Lovat, who succeeded in 1450, and who had another and younger illegitimate son named Hugh, progenitor of the Frasers of Foyers. This Thomas is by a slip of the pen called "Hugh" at page 68, but the Gaelic name given in the same line, "*Tomas* Roy Mac a Mhaighistir," is quite correct, and it shows that Thomas was born while his father was Master of Lovat. He appears to have had a son,

II. DONALD FRASER, second of Fairfield, of whom, however, nothing is known except that his son,

III. ANDREW FRASER, third of Fairfield, who is the first of the family found on record designated of Fairfield, is described in 1594 as "Andrew vic Coil vic Thomais Roy"; that is Andrew, son of Donald, son of Thomas Roy, who was himself "Mac a Mhaighistir"—son of the Master of Lovat. Andrew appears to have settled near Inverness when Kinmylies was acquired by the Frasers of Lovat. In 1595 he is found possessed of a rood of land on the west side of the river Ness, and in the same year he acquired from William Paterson, burgess of Inverness, a rood adjoining it, described as bounded on the north by the lands of Robert Neilson, on the west by the mill lade, and on the south by the lands of which he was himself already in possession. The lands were held of the Crown and the reddendo was five pennies. He had a feu charter dated the 1st of June, 1605, of four oxgang of lands of the Merkinch, with the usual commonry and common pasturage, granted by the Magistrates and Town Council of Inverness. The Provost and Bailies pronounced a decree on the 31st of

July, 1631, to the effect that the commony of the Merkinch was common to the whole burgh against Andrew's contention that it was the exclusive property of the two owners of that part of the town, then an island.

Andrew married and had at least one son,

IV. FINLAY FRASER, fourth of Fairfield, who succeeded him and acquired additional lands in Inverness and neighbourhood. He also held the office of Provost. The right to hold a special seat in the church was considered of great importance in those days, and Finlay secured an Act of the Session on the 20th of January, 1662, granting him a particular pew in the old High Church. In the same year, at the time a Bailie of Inverness, he rode and won in a great horse race at Tomnahurich against Mackintosh of Mackintosh and others, for a description of which see pp. 191-192.

In his time the dispute about the right to the commony of the Merkinch was revived. Mr Fraser-Mackintosh says—"I find that he (Finlay), as heir served to his father, Andrew, raised letters of suspension before the Lords of Council and Session of the above-mentioned decree by the Provost and Bailies of Inverness against his father, dated 11th September, 1678; and again in June, 1690. Alexander Fraser complained to the Provost and Magistrates that Finlay Fraser, late Provost of Inverness, had interrupted Alexander's servants from casting, binding, or leading fuel in the Carse on the west side of the Merkinch, which is commony to the town of Inverness, and assuming the heritable right thereof to belong to him the said Finlay Fraser. This question of commony was disputed all through the eighteenth century, but finally determined in favour of the late Hugh Duff of Muirtown who had become sole owner of Merkinch."* The same writer, referring to this family in May 1885, in the article already quoted, says that "about a year since, when certain repairs were found to be necessary at the Chapel-Yard of Inverness, the state of a once handsomely carved tomb, at the north-east wall, was declared dangerous. It was

* *Celtic Magazine*, vol. x., p. 337.

reported that not only did no one claim right to the ruined tomb, but even its original owners were unknown, and after some discussion the tomb was repaired and pointed at the town's expense, but has only been partially restored. The tomb was that of the once well-known and influential burghal-county family, the Frasers of Fairfield, and the above circumstance shows how completely they are forgotten." The tomb has above the door, inside the wall, the following initials, F.F. I.R., and below them, D.F. C.D., the first four being that of Provost Finlay Fraser and his wife Isobel Robertson, to whom he was married in 1656, with issue—

1. Andrew, who died without male issue.
2. David, who ultimately succeeded his father.
3. John, whose name appears as a witness in 1745.

Provost Finlay Fraser was succeeded by his younger son,

V. DAVID FRASER, fifth of Fairfield, a merchant in Inverness, and one of the Bailies of the Burgh. In his day the family reached the zenith of its prosperity. Old Fairfield House, a prominent object in Slezer's view of Inverness, and part of which remained until recently, was built by David or his father. He obtained a new Act of the Session in connection with the family pew in the High Church, already referred to, on the 14th of October, 1703. He married in July, 1693, Christian, eldest daughter of the deceased John Dunbar of Bennetsfield, the second set of initials above the door and inside the Fairfield tomb, D.F. and C.D., being his and hers respectively. One of his cautioners under the marriage contract was his elder brother, Andrew Fraser, burgess of Inverness, while for her obligations under the same document stood her mother, Christian Mackenzie or Dunbar; her uncle, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, II. of Coul; and another uncle, Simon Mackenzie, I. of Torridon. By this marriage David had issue, at least one son,

VI. ALEXANDER FRASER, sixth of Fairfield. He was Provost of Inverness from 1723 to 1725, 1728-1729, and from 1732 to 1735. He bought Kinmylies from David Polson, and subsequently sold it to George Ross of Pitkerrie,

a merchant in London.* In this Alexander's time the family began to decline, and he sold a considerable portion of the property acquired by his father. The first subject that he disposed of was the pew in the High Church which his father and grandfather valued so highly, and which had cost them so much trouble to secure as one of the treasured family possessions. But Alexander sold it to John Fraser, merchant in Inverness, for £10 sterling by deed dated and signed by him "at the House of Kinmylies," on the 19th of July, 1738. On the 17th of July, 1739, Alexander sold to the same John Fraser two acres of his arable ten acres of land on the Carse. By another deed, dated the 14th of May, 1743, he sold to Duncan Fraser, merchant in Inverness, son of the above-named John Fraser, the two roods of land on the west side of the River Ness which had belonged to his predecessors since 1596, as well as some acres and roods in St. Thomas' Chapel. He also disposed of several acres, roods, and rigs in the Carse called Lochnagaun, Gairbread, Knockandow, the Little Carse, the Whinbush Carse, and Sandy Acre. On the 1st of September the same year he sold the lands of Wester Ballifeary to Robert Fraser of Phopachy. By a disposition dated the 28th of May, 1745, Alexander's mother, Christian Dunbar of Bennetsfield, renounced her life-rent of certain of the family property, the witnesses to the deed being John Fraser, her brother-in-law, and Alexander Fraser, her son. This Fairfield also disposed of the family possessions on the Merkinch before 1754, for in that year's list of "the burgage mails and feu-duties of the burgh of Inverness," William Duff of Muirtown is entered as owner of the Merkinch lands "from Fairfield (and) from Bailie David his father," the feu then payable being £1 6s 3d Scots. In the same list Alexander still appears as a feuar of various properties in the town, the "shop under the Tolbooth, the fourth from the east from Bailie David his father," being one of them.

This is the same Alexander Fraser of Fairfield with whom Simon Lord Lovat quarrelled so fiercely in 1741, because he

* *Shaw's Province of Moray*, vol. ii., p. 333, 1882 edition.

would not support Norman Macleod of Macleod as Parliamentary candidate for the county of Inverness against Sir James Grant of Grant, the particulars of which will be found fully set forth at pages 371-374. Alexander took an active part in the Rising of 1745, and to this the decline of the family in his time has been attributed. In the accounts of the disbursements of the Depute Governor and Treasurer for Prince Charles, at Perth, there is an entry, under December the 3rd, 1745—"To Mr Fraser of Fairfield, for 97 pair shoes at 2s 6d for the army—£12 2s 6d." On the 10th of the same month we have—"To Mr Fraser of Fairfield, payment of other companies of Frasers as they came up to December 4th—£14 17s. To Ditto as pay of all the Frasers from December 4th to Wed. 12th—£61 15s 6d. To Mr Fraser to pay the Frasers 3 days for Wed., Thursd., and Frid. ye 13th—£26 9s 6d;" and on the 16th—"To Fairfield, 6 days pay to ye Frasers from Sat. 14th inclusive to Friday ye 20th—£52 19s." On the 10th of January, 1746, Alexander is described as "Major Fraser of Fairfield," when he receives £10 "in part payment of his pay till account," the Master of Lovat receiving his first payment, being "four week' pay, £8 8s," on the same date.

Alexander married a daughter of William Fraser, V. of Inverallochy, by Lady Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander, third Earl of Kellie, with issue—

1. Alexander, his heir and successor.
2. Elizabeth, who has a bond of provision in her favour for £206 12s 6d from her father, "upliftable furth of the lands of Fairfield," and finally discharged by her brother Simon in favour of her nephew, Andrew Fraser of Fairfield, on the 6th of January, 1794, the year in which the latter succeeded to the family estates.

He married, secondly, Elizabeth Maclean, with issue—

3. Simon, a merchant in Inverness, described in an instrument of Sasine, dated the 6th of May, 1777, as "lawful son to the said deceased Alexander Fraser of Fairfield, being (then) the only surviving child procreate of the marriage betwixt the said deceased Alexander Fraser of Fairfield

and the also deceased Mrs Elizabeth Maclean, his second spouse."

4. Katharine, described in the same document as "now deceased"—that is in 1777.

He was succeeded by his elder son,

VII. ALEXANDER FRASER, seventh of Fairfield, who on the 30th of August, 1755, as heir of his father, the deceased Alexander Fraser, has a precept of clare constat from the Provost and Magistrates of Inverness. In his day the family continued to decline. He married, with issue—

1. Andrew, who succeeded his father.

2. Eliza Dell, who in 1781, married Colonel Allan Macpherson of Blairgowrie,* with issue—William of Blairgowrie, Allan and Harriet. William, who was born in 1784, married in 1815, Janet, daughter of William Chalmers of Gleneloch, with issue—an only child, Allan of Blairgowrie, born in 1818, and married in 1853, Emma, daughter of C. H. Blake, with issue, among others—William Charles Macpherson, Indian Civil Service, now of Blairgowrie. He was born in 1855, and married in 1886, Isabella, daughter of Colonel Kinloch of Gourdie.

3. Mary, who, in 1810, accompanied her brother, Captain Andrew, to India.

Alexander was succeeded by his eldest son,

VIII. ANDREW FRASER, eighth of Fairfield, a Captain

* Referring to this marriage James Macpherson of Ossianic fame writes to Colonel Allan. The "young gentleman" mentioned was the lady's brother Andrew, who afterwards succeeded as VIII. of Fairfield. James Macpherson says—"In your letter of November 17th from Cassumbazar you mention your intentions to marry, which gave me very sincere pleasure. I was myself no stranger to the connections of Miss Fraser, now Mrs Macpherson, though I had not the honour of being acquainted with her personally. I have seen and congratulated several of the friends you mention on the occasion. I wrote to Mrs Fraser of Fairfield, in every respect in terms of your letter, and I have given directions relative to your young brother to Mr Fraser of Lovat, who is just setting out for the North of Scotland. My intention is, to place the young gentleman in an academy near London, and to send him out a cadet by the first fleet of the ensuing season. I entreat that you will present my most affectionate and respectful compliments to Mrs Macpherson, and assure her that nothing will give me more pleasure than to show every attention to her friends and commands in this country."

in the 17th Native Infantry of Bengal. He succeeded his father in the remaining estates of the family in 1794. He, however, went on selling, having disposed of the lands known as the Hard Croft to Colin Monro, of Grenada, on which that gentleman erected that large building known as the Blue House. In 1809 he sold to Lachlan Mackintosh of Raigmore, for £500, "all and whole these three roods of burgh bigged land, with houses, biggings, garden, dove-cot, and office houses, sometime pertaining to and possessed by Alexander Fraser of Fairfield, his grandfather, with the parts, pendicles, and pertinents of the same, lying on the west side of the River Ness, bounded between the garden sometime pertaining to the deceased Jaspard Cuthbert, thereafter by progress to Alexander Duff of Drummuir, and now to Colin Munro, at the west and north, by the road leading to the River Ness at the east, the lands sometime belonging to the deceased John Kerr, burgess of the said burgh, thereafter by progress to Robert Robertson of Ship-land, thereafter by progress to the deceased Alexander Fraser, my grandfather, his now by the vennel at the south, and the old waulk miln lade, now the King's high way, at the west parts respectively." Early in 1809, he gave instruction to sell what seems to have been very nearly the last of the family possessions. The sale did not, however, take place at this time nor for several years afterwards.

Captain Andrew married, with issue—at least one son, and several other children, who were minors at the date of his death, before August 1814, leaving them only "fragments" of what was once a very considerable and valuable property. His widow married again in India. What became of his children we have not been able to ascertain.

THE FRASERS OF FOYERS.

I. HUGH FRASER, the first of this family, was an illegitimate son of Hugh, commonly styled third Lord Lovat. From a long residence in France he was known among the Highlanders as "Uisdean Frangach," and his posterity as "Sliochd Uisdean Fhrangaich." He was "the most esteemed of all Lord Lovat's kin for his frank disposition and love of manly sports." He received as his portion from his father the lands of Easter and Wester Aberchalder, in the barony of Abertarff, as will appear presently. He married and had at least two sons—

1. William, his heir and successor.

2. Hugh Fraser, named in a charter from the Bishop of Moray in 1541 as William's "brother-german" Hugh Fraser.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

II. WILLIAM FRASER, second of Foyers, who is the first of the family on record in connection with Foyers, although he succeeded to the two Aberchalders, in the barony of Abertarff, and Little Ballichernock and Turchurachan, in the barony of Durris, on the death of his father. He was then designated of "Over Callader," or Aberchalder. In 1537 an Apostolical warrant is issued, dated at St. Peter's the 4th day of the Ides of March and the 10th of his Pontificate, by Pope Paul III. for granting in feu to William, described as "Laici Moravien," the Church lands of Boleskine and Foyers. Patrick, Bishop of Moray, with consent of the Chapter, at Elgin, on the 12th of December 1541, grants a feu charter to William Fraser of Over Callader and the heirs-male of his body, whom failing, to his brother-german Hugh Fraser and the heirs-male of his body, whom failing,

to Hugh Lord Fraser of Lovat and the heirs-male of his body, whom all failing, to the nearest heirs-male whomsoever of the said William Fraser, of the lands of Boleskine and Foyers, described in the charter as lying within the barony of Kinmylies, lordship of Spynie, and shire of Inverness, at a feu of £8 14s 8d Scots. Mr Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, to whom we are indebted for the main facts relating to this family, says that "the document is in fine preservation, has two splendid seals entire, with about twelve signatures of Church dignitaries of Moray." William was also proprietor of the lands of Mussady and Mellagie, worth £3 and upwards of old extent, as well as those of Dunterchat and Garrogie, equal to a forty shilling land of old extent, all held of Lord Lovat. Mr Anderson, as stated elsewhere, says that this William of Foyers was the only gentleman of the Clan Fraser who escaped the slaughter of Blar-nan-leine on the 15th of July, 1544, but he must have died from his wounds a few days after, as appears from his son Hugh's service expedite at Inverness on the 5th of October, 1563. The author of the Old Statistical Account of the parish, writing in 1798, says that he was carried from the field of battle by one Norman Gow on his back to the top of "Suidhe Chuimein" about eight miles from Lochlochy; but Gow having an arrow in his side at the time, found himself unable to proceed farther and there pulled out the arrow and expired. "His descendants in commemoration of this amazing effort of attachment enjoyed a croft of land rent free from the family of Foyers" till about 1738.

William married, with issue—

1. Hugh, his heir and successor.
2. William, who succeeded his brother Hugh.

He died from wounds received at the battle of Kinlochlochy, in July, 1544, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

III. HUGH FRASER, third of Foyers, who has a precept of clare constat from the Bishop of Moray, dated the 25th of April, 1545, for infefting him as heir to his father William in Foyers and Boleskine, upon which he was infeft on the 10th of June, 1548, by Gilbert Hay, Notar of Moray.

On the 10th of March, 1555, Lord Lovat granted a precept for infesting him in the lands of Mussady and Mellagie, held of his Lordship. On the 5th of October, 1563, he is served heir to his father in Aberchalder, on which occasion he is described as "Hucheon Frayeser as ayr to his omquhil fadyr William Frayeser of Aberchallodour." Among those who served on the inquest were Hugh Fraser of Guisachan, Bean Clerk of "Blar-nan-leine" notoriety, and Thomas Fraser, "portioner" of Moniack. It was found that William died last vest and seised in all and singular the lands of Little Balecharnock and Tirchurachan, with the pertinents lying within the barony of Durris; that Hugh was his son and nearest lawful heir, and of full age; that the lands were worth £8 Scots, old extent, and in time of peace twenty shillings yearly; that they were held of Robert Dunbar of Durris for the payment of a white rose yearly on the feast day of St. John the Baptist, and that they had lain unentered for nineteen years—since the death of William Fraser, Hugh's father, in July, 1544. From this it is established that William, second of Foyers, was killed at Kinlochlochry or died during the same month from wounds received there.

From the rental of the Bishopric of Moray for 1565, it appears that Boleskine and Foyers were held by the heirs of William Fraser in feu.

Hugh married Margaret Urquhart, with issue—an only daughter, Jean, who in 1573, as heiress of line, was served heir to the portions of the estate not limited to heirs-male, and on the 1st of June, 1575, she has a precept of clare constat in Mussady and Mellagie, as the only daughter and heir of her father Hugh Fraser, from the Countess of Moray with consent of the Earl of Argyll. These lands, however, afterwards reverted to or were re-acquired by the heir-male of the family. Hugh, who died before 1570, was succeeded in the remainder of the estates by his brother,

IV. WILLIAM FRASER, fourth of Foyers, who in 1570 is retoured as heir to his brother Hugh in Aberchalder, and on the 1st of August, 1584, is infest in Foyers and Boleskine on a precept dated the 14th of the preceding month, from

the Bishop of Moray, and he had subsequently all his charters confirmed by the Crown on the 16th of December, 1592. Designed as "William Fraser of Foir," he is, along with "My Lord Lowett" absent from a meeting of the Head Court of the Lordship of Spynie, held within the Jewel House of the Cathedral Kirk of Moray by an honourable man John Innes, principal bailie thereof, on the 9th of April, 1759, the suit called, the Court lawfully fenced and affirmed, as use is.* He married with issue—

1. Hugh, his heir and successor.
2. James, designated his "brother-german" as one of the witnesses in Hugh's infestment.

William, who died before 1606, was succeeded by his elder son,

V. HUGH FRASER, fifth of Foyers, infest in the lands of Foyers and Boleskine on the 31st of May, 1607, on a precept by Alexander, Bishop of Moray, dated the 28th of April in the previous year. Hugh is the Fraser of Foyers who is said to have saved the notorious Allan of Lundie from drowning in Loch Ness, which he was attempting to swim across when hotly pursued by the Mackenzies after he had set fire to the Church of Killiechriose, near Beauly, and burnt the whole congregation assembled in it in 1603.

He married Margaret, daughter of John Roy Mackenzie, IV. of Gairloch. Her name appears in the rental of the Bishopric of Moray in 1641 for the lands of Boleskine and Foyers, the rental of these being £8 14s 8d. By her he had issue—at least one son,

VI. WILLIAM FRASER, sixth of Foyers, who succeeded his father, and had titles made up to Aberchalder, but not to Foyers and his other lands.

He married Janet, eldest daughter of John Macpherson of Nuid, third son of Ewen Macpherson, XVI. of Cluny,† with issue—

1. Hugh, his heir and successor.

* *Spalding Club Transactions*, vol. ii, p 135.

† *Glimpses of Church and Social Life in the Highlands*, p. 491. She married four husbands after him and had issue by them all.

2. Bethia, who married Thomas Fraser, VII. of Farraline, with issue—a son and successor.

He was succeeded by his only son,

VII. HUGH FRASER, seventh of Foyers. In May, 1643, being then designated as "Younger of Foyers," he attended the funeral of Simon, Master of Lovat, who died in Edinburgh in that year and was buried in the Chapel of Holyrood. In the Valuation Roll for the county of Inverness in 1644, he appears as "Hugh Fraser of Foyers" for lands in the barony of Abertarff entered at £965 6s 8d. He is served heir to his father William, at Inverness, on the 20th of April, 1648, before Thomas Schives of Muirtown, Sheriff of Inverness, and a jury, among whom are to be found the names of Thomas Fraser of Struy, William Fraser of Culbokie, and William Fraser of Abersky, in the two davochs of Easter and Wester Aberchalder of old extent, with the salmon fishings in Loch Oich pertaining thereto. He received a charter of the lands of Foyers and Boleskine, dated at Edinburgh, on the 15th of August in the same year, which charter and the infeftment thereon were subsequently confirmed to him by the Bishop of Moray in 1663. In 1651 he is pursued for a debt by James Macpherson of Ballachroan, and he appears to have got himself involved in the same way with several others. On the 1st of December, 1654, he grants a bond for £121; on the 8th of August, 1657, one for £289; and one on the 18th of September, 1658, for £357, whereon, after due process, followed horning and inhibition in 1666. In 1661 it was arranged that he should receive a charter from Lord Lovat of the lands of Mussady and Mellagie, as heir of his grandfather Hugh, but the agreed upon deed was not executed. Hugh married, first, Jean Gray, with issue—

1. William, his heir and successor.

2. Hugh, mentioned in his sister's contract of marriage.

3. Elizabeth, who with both her brothers' consent, married John Fraser of Little Garth, the contract of marriage being dated at Mussady on the 7th of April, 1688.

He married, secondly, Catherine, daughter of Alexander

Chisholm, XVII. of Chisholm, whose marriage contract is dated at Erchless on the 31st of May, 1658, and in security of her provision she was infest in the half davoch of Boleskine, excluding Glenlia, and in the western third of Mellagie.

He was succeeded by his elder son,

VIII. WILLIAM FRASER, eighth of Foyers, who, since the death of Hugh, eleventh Lord Lovat, in 1696, was on the most friendly terms with Simon of the 'Forty-five. He was one of the seven gentlemen of the clan who signed the letter sent by Thomas of Beaufort to the Earl of Argyll in 1696-97 and given at length at pp. 219-221, in which they state the determination of the clan to defend themselves, if need be, from the troops sent against them, in consequence of Simon's outrage on the Dowager Lady Lovat. Two years after, Simon, who now assumed the title of Lord Lovat, gave him the following written obligation:—

"I, Simon Fraser Lord Lovat, do bind myself for service done me and for mine by William Fraser of Foyers to give to the said William Fraser of Foyers and his, the tenth part of the country of Stratherrick, after I have fully conquered it and am in full possession of it, without debate; and this providing he continue true and faithful to me as my kinsman and vassal all his life; and for the more security, I consent these presents be registered in the books of Council and Session or any other books competent, and to that effect I constitute my procurators that all sort of diligence pass hereon as accords. In witness whereof I have written and subscribed these presents at Poran, the 9th day of August, 1698 years. (Signed) "LOVAT."

Poran is at present known as "Phoran" or Forbeg, two or three miles to the west of Foyers Mains, now a part of the estate of Knockie, but then the property of Lord Lovat, and at the time a populous place. It is said that it was Lord Simon's intention to divide the lands of Stratherrick into ten equal divisions, and give one to each of his leading clansmen in the district, on condition that they should assist him to recover the estates of the family, just as he had promised a tenth to Foyers in terms of the foregoing quoted document.

It appears that before 1715, William gave up the entire management of his affairs to his eldest son,

HUGH FRASER, who, however, predeceased his father

before 1719. This Hugh, described as "Younger of Foyers" in 1711, had a charter in his own favour of Mus-sady from Roderick Mackenzie of Prestonhall. He took the side of the Government in 1715 at considerable trouble and expense to himself and his family, as appears from a petition presented and a declaration made by him to the Hon. David Polson of Kinmylies, and Alexander Clark and George Cuthbert, two Justices of the Peace, Inverness, in 1716, as follows:—

"The petition of Hugh Fraser, younger of Foyers, one of the Deputy-Lieutenants of the Northern Counties, humbly sheweth (that) from the beginning of September (1715) to the 1st of March (1716) last past, I being moved by my affection to the Government, and in obedience to Brigadier Alexander Grant and other friends of the Government, their letters to me, as well as my own early engagement to the Lieutenancy and friends of the Government, I did devote myself and my men to the public service by going to the hills and mountains of the country until such time as the said Lieutenancy did gather some of their friends together, among which I and my men were among the first, by which they were pleased to honour me with a commission of being one of the Deputy-Lieutenants of the North, whereby I and my men were pointed forth to the resentment of the Rebels, and I and my tenants suffered considerable losses and damages by depredations and robberies, besides the damages of loss of time and the management of our affairs at home, with what I paid for my own and my men, our charges to the month of November, when my chief came to the North, all occasioned by our attendance on the Government service. And I humbly conceive that the said Brigadier and the other Lieutenants are in justice obliged, as well as by their promises, to make up our losses by representing the same to the Managers of the Government, so I believe that they will not make any difficulty therein, if our damages and losses were ascertained by our oaths. May it therefore please your worships to allow us to appear before you and make affidavit upon the extent of the loss and damages sustained, to the effect we may ascertain our claims as accords.

(Signed) "HUGH FRASER."

His request was conceded and, appearing before the last-named two gentlemen, he declared on oath that during the period stated in his petition

"He and about one hundred and sixty men were obliged to stay in the hills and braes of the county and elsewhere as the Lieutenancy did direct us upon our own proper charges and he had not any friends

of the Government within twenty miles distant from him to any airt ; by which, with his own personal charges, he did truly expend of his own proper moneys and effects to the extent of the sum of three thousand and forty pounds Scots money, and the rebels did violently carry and rob away from his towns and lands the number of seventy-seven cows and oxen which he values at one thousand five hundred and seventy pounds foresaid ; nine horses at two hundred and seventy pounds foresaid ; fifteen wedders and sheep at thirty pounds foresaid ; and plaids to the value of twenty-four pounds money foresaid — in all extending to the sum of four thousand nine hundred and four pounds Scots money ; and that he and his men by their attendance on his Majesty's service from the 1st of September to the first of March last, when the regular forces came to Inverness, have sustained considerable losses and damages in their affairs and labouring. But they cannot declare the true extent thereof on oath and they submit the same to discretion, which is truth as he shall answer to God.—

(Signed) "HUGH FRASER."

He also addressed the following memorial to the Right Hon. Robert Walpole, First Lord of his Majesty's Treasury, humbly showing,

"That the time of the late Ministry, when the pensions were to the Highland clans, Alexander Mackenzie of Fraserdale who pretended to represent the name of Fraser, was one of these pensioners, and offered the memorialist a share of that pension to go into his measures, which he absolutely refused because he understood the design was to support the Pretender's interest, whereupon the memorialist convened several gentlemen of the name of Fraser, and acquainted them with the same, and he and they signed a letter to his Grace the Duke of Argyll, giving full assurance of their resolution to join with his Grace in defence of the Protestant succession as by law established, and likewise sent two of their number to Sir Peter Fraser of Doors to acquaint him of their resolution, who advised them to send for my Lord Lovat to France, to strengthen them in their design. And accordingly one of their number was sent to France to bring him home. All which happened in the last two years of her late Majesty's reign. That when Alexander Macdonald of Glengarry, and Colin Campbell of Glendaruel were going about the Highlands to procure subscriptions to an address to the Pretender, and had imposed upon some of the name of Fraser to sign the same, the memorialist convened the well affected gentlemen of that name and signed an address to His Majesty King George, with an offer of their lives and fortune to support His Majesty's just title to the Crown, which address was presented to the Duke of Argyll. Agreeable to which address, when the rebellion began in Scotland, the beginning of September last, the

memorialist convened 160 men, though he was sixteen miles distant from any of the King's friends and the Highland clans convening all round him, and kept them in a body, though he was once attacked by 700 men of the Earl of Seaforth's whom he repulsed, and continued these men upon his own proper charges till the middle of November ; that my Lord Lovat came to the country, who then convened all the rest of his name for His Majesty's service, in which the memorialist continued till they were relieved by the regular forces in March last. The memorialist was obliged to maintain these men on his own proper charges, which, with the damage sustained by him and his lands by the rebels, amount to six hundred pounds sterling, besides the loss of his time conform to an affidavit made before the Justices of Peace of Inverness county. Besides all what's above, the memorialist was sent, when none other would undertake it, by my Lord Lovat to Stirling, by way of Fort-William, to get intelligence from the Duke of Argyll, which was a very expensive and dangerous journey, several of the clans being in wait for seizing the memorialist which is known by Sir Robert Pollock, Governor of Fort-William."

All these petitions and memorials proved unavailing ; for Hugh received nothing, and the matter was again taken up and the authorities approached by his successors some forty years afterwards, apparently with no better result, as shall presently be seen. Lord Simon speaks of him in quite affectionate terms in his Letter of Advice from London to the clan in 1718, when his Lordship believed he was dying. Hugh, as already stated, died before 1719, during the life of his father, who then appears to have again become personally active in the management of the estate, for in 1721 he is found entering into and signing a mutual bond or confederation between the Fraser families and Mactavishes in Stratherrick, which is so remarkable at so recent a date that it must be given entire. It is duly drawn up by a Notary Public, and the original, of which the following is a copy, was in possession of the late Alexander Mactavish, Town Clerk of Inverness :—

"At Bellaloin, the 5th day of April, 1721 years, it is contracted, agreed, and finally determined, betwixt the parties following, viz. :— William Fraser of Foyers, James Fraser, Younger thereof, Hugh Fraser of Boleskine, William Fraser of Kinmonavie, John Fraser of Drummond, William Fraser of Dalcraig, John and Thomas Fraser, his sons ; Thomas Fraser of Kinbrylie, John Fraser, son to Dunichea ;

John, Thomas, James, and Donald Fraser, sons to the deceased Garthmore ; John and Alexander Fraser, Simon's sons in Dalchapel ; John Donn Fraser, in Forbeg, Alexander Fraser, in Knockie, and John Fraser, his son ; Thomas Fraser, son to Bunchegavie ; John Fraser, now of Bunchegavie ; Alexander and Hugh Fraser, his sons ; and Alexander Fraser, son to John Fraser in Bellaloin ; Alexander Fraser in Mussadie, and William Fraser in Gortuleg, for themselves and in name and behalf and as burdens taken on them for their several friends and relations of the said family of Foyers, commonly called CLAN WILLIAM, and their respective servants and followers, on the one part ; and for John Mactavish of Little Garth, Tavish Mactavish, his brother, John Mactavish, portioner of South Migavie, Tavish Mactavish of North Migavie, Duncan Mactavish in Kenmore, his brother, and Duncan Mactavish of Croachie, for themselves, and in name and behalf and as taking hurden on themselves for the several friends and relations, commonly called CLAN TAVISH ; and Ronald Macdonald of Achindich, John and Alexander Macdonald, his brethren, for themselves, their friends and relations, and all of them as undertakers for their several tenants, servants, dependers, and followers, on the other part in manner following : THAT IS TO SAY, forasmuch as for several years past frequent jealousies and animosities were created and entertained on small causes, and sometimes without any grounds at all which oftentimes ended in great mischief, and sometimes in bloodshed on either side, to the scandal of religion, and that harmony and good correspondence that should have been maintained betwixt so near neighbours and friends, who are so frequently bound to one another by the ties of consanguinity and affinity ; therefore, and for the preventing the consequences of such jealousies for the future, the said William and James Fraser, elder and younger, of Foyers, and the said other persons of his family for themselves and in name and behalf, and as taking burden on them as aforesaid, on the one part, and the said other party as contractors for themselves, etc., on the other part, faithfully engage, bind, and oblige themselves, and promise their heirs and successors forever, to live in the strictest amenity, friendship, and good neighbourhood, and to maintain, defend, and assist one another in all actions, causes, pleas, and controversies, of what nature and degree whatsoever, whether civil or military, against all other clans, people or name, or quality soever, the King's Majesty alone excepted ; and that with hearts and hands, lives, goods, and estates, personal and real, and particularly, without prejudice to the general obligations above written,—to maintain and assist one another in all thefts, reiffs, and depredations that may be attempted on either of the said parties, contractors, or their respective followers or adherents, their goods or cattle, by whatsoever clan or people. And if such theft, reiff or depredation be actually committed,

to aid and assist one another with their full power and forces (how soon ever required by the party injured), in receiving, retaking, and returning the goods, cattle, and others carried away, and that were at the hazard of their lives and goods. As also faithfully to engage, promise, and oblige themselves, their heirs and successors on their faith as Christians not to enter into any other contract or come under any obligation to any other clan, or persons, or people that may seem to have the least tendency to the undoing of these presents, or that may tend directly or indirectly towards the weakening or infringing the least article thereof. And it is hereby declared that these presents and the several articles and obligations therein contained shall remain and continue obligatory and binding on the said parties, their heirs and successors till the great and dreadful sound of the last Trumpet—at least while two males are existing of each of the parties contractors: And finally they bind and oblige themselves conjunctly and severally to each other to implement, fulfil, and perform the several heads, articles, and obligations of this contract in the most strict manner under the penalty of four thousand pounds Scots to be paid by the party failing to the party performing or willing to perform their part thereof and that by attour performance, declaring notwithstanding, that nothing in this contract is meant or shall be interpreted to be in opposition to the laws and Acts of Parliament of this Kingdom presently being or that shall happen to be for the time: And both consent to the registration hereof in the books of Council and Session, or others competent, that execution may pass hereon as effairs, and to that effect constitute Alexander Baillie, Notary Public, and John Taylor, Notary Public, their procurators. In witness whereof these presents, with the three preceding pages on stamped paper, written by John Taylor, writer in Inverness, are subscribed by both parties, place, and month, and year of God above-written before these witnesses, Thomas Fraser of Gortuleg, Hugh Fraser in Mussadie, Hugh Fraser, nephew of Gortuleg, Malcolm and Hector Fraser, lawful sons to John Fraser of Errogie.”

The document is subscribed by all the parties whose names are mentioned therein and duly attested by the two Notaries Public, Alexander Baillie and John Taylor. How the agreement was adhered to and implemented among the respective obligants it is now impossible to say, but the Rising of 1745 is conclusive as to the manner in which the saving clause in favour of the King and Parliament was forgotten.

William married Margaret, daughter of Alexander Mac-kintosh of Connage, with issue—

1. Hugh, who took an active part in managing the affairs

of his family during the life of his father, but who died before him, unmarried, prior to 1719.

2. James, who is described in 1719 as the only brother of the deceased Hugh Fraser, Younger of Foyers. He is also named immediately after his father in the Stratherrick bond of agreement above given, and described in 1721, as "James Fraser Younger thereof"—that is of Foyers.

3. Alexander, who married a daughter of Murdoch Mackenzie, II. of Redcastle.

4. Katharine, who married Hugh Fraser, Uisdean Og, I. of Leadclune, with issue.

William appears to have died shortly after the date of this document, when he was succeeded by his second and only surviving son,

IX. JAMES FRASER, ninth of Foyers, who found the affairs of his family very much embarrassed. He was much assisted in this connection by Lord Simon of the 'Forty-five, who on the 30th of September, 1725, made him Bailie over all his Lordship's lands in Stratherrick. Shortly before this an outrage was committed on Cuthbert of Castlehill, by the slaughter of a hundred of his milch cows, and Lord Lovat was charged with having been accessory to the crime. Let the reader judge for himself, knowing Lord Simon as he now does, from the following letter addressed to James on that subject. His Lordship writes—

"Bath, the 23rd of September, 1724.

"Dear Foyers,—How soon you receive this letter you are to come immediately into Inverness, and find out the authors of the base calumny (wrote of by you to me and Colonel Munro), that by your direction the murdering villain Donald Dubh, 'Clessich,' killed and destroyed Castlehill's cows. I know and believe in my soul you are very innocent, but you deserve this misfortune for keeping that rogue in your hands after my threatening letter to you that I would never speak to you if you did not seize him and deliver him bound to Culloden. This story, though false, will ruin for ever your reputation if you do not find out the authors and get due and honourable satisfaction. It may likewise do me hurt, so I desire for your own sake and mine to trace out the story and behave like a gentleman; and if that villain can be had, seize him and deliver him to Culloden as I desired you before. If you do not this I shall renounce you as my

friend, relation, or acquaintance, and I shall never see your face when I can shun it. If you can find no author, bring two or three honest gentlemen with you to the Cross and to Cuthbert's Coffee House, and tell aloud that any who were the authors or promoters of that calumny are rogues and rascals. Call on my friend and doer at Inverness, Commissary Munro, and he will advise you. I long to know how you will behave, and of all friends, dear Foyers, your own,
(Signed) "LOVAT."

In 1745 a dispute arose between Lord Simon and Lord Fortrose at a Court of Freeholders held at Inverness for the appointment of a Collector of the Land Tax in which Foyers intervened in defence of his chief, jumping from the gallery and presenting a loaded and cocked pistol at Mackenzie's head, which would for a certainty have proved fatal had not one of the gentlemen present thrown his plaid over the muzzle and thus diverted its contents. The facts have been already given at length at pp. 374-377.

James joined Prince Charles in 1745, but before doing so he, in accordance with a common practice of that period, disposed his estates to his elder son Hugh by deed dated the 5th of November in that year, with the view of saving it to his successors whatever might be the result of the Rising. The affairs of the family were, however, so much embarrassed that Hugh some time afterwards had to make up titles by a friendly adjudication, and by the assistance of General Simon Fraser of Lovat, eldest son of Lord Simon. The advisers of Prince Charles, Mr Fraser-Mackintosh says, "thought no duty would be more agreeable to Lord Lovat than to apprehend the President (Forbes). He hesitated, however, to commit himself so openly, and the business was entrusted to but not executed by Foyers, whose elder brother, Hugh, had taken great credit for defending of Culoden House in 1715." In this connection James Fraser of Foyers, had the following interesting document, still in good preservation, addressed to him by command of the Prince:—

"Charles, Prince of Wales, and Regent of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, To James Fraser of Foyers—Whereas we gave a warrant some time ago to the Lord Lovat to apprehend and secure the person of Duncan Forbes of Culoden, which warrant, for sufficient reason, he could not

put into execution : We now judge it necessary hereby to empower you to seize upon the person of the above-named Duncan Forbes, and when you have so seized and apprehended him, to carry him prisoner to us at Edinburgh, or where we shall happen to be for the time, for the doing of which this shall be your warrant. Given at His Majesty's Palace of Holyroodhouse, the twenty-third day of September, 1745. By his Highness' command, (Signed) "JO. MURRAY."

He was specially excepted from the Act (20 George II., cap. 52) granting pardon for all treasons committed by most of those engaged in the Rising prior to the 15th of June, 1747. Not having surrendered, he was outlawed but was afterwards pardoned and had his estates restored to him.

James Fraser also received the following letter from General Simon Fraser, dated "London, 4th January, 1757," the very day on which the first Fraser Fencibles were ordered to be raised. It shows that he was still considered and dealt with as head of the family, although the estates had before the 'Forty-five been transferred to his son Hugh for the prudential reasons already stated. General Fraser wrote—

"Dear Sir,—I am sure it will give you pleasure to know that His Majesty has been graciously pleased to signify his intention of appointing me to the command of a regiment of Highlanders to be forthwith raised for American service. And as the quickness that is expected in raising them is a great inducement for the measure, I flatter myself my friends will leave no stone unturned to have this done with credit to me, whose honour and interest through life depend on my success in this, and I am satisfied I may on every occasion as well on this depend on you in what so nearly concerns me. As I have not time to-night to write to everyone whose assistance I expect, I must beg you will communicate this to such gentlemen as you think proper. I shall endeavour to procure commissions for some young gentlemen of the name, but these particulars must be the subject of another letter. I thought it necessary to give you and the other friends this early notice, that you may take measures in the meantime for exerting yourselves with vigour on my behalf. I offer my compliments to your lady, and all friends, and always am very sincerely, my dear Foyers, yours, (Signed) "S. FRASER."

Some two years later Foyers renewed the claim made by his father William and brother Hugh upon the Government for compensation for the loss and outlay incurred by the family in 1715, when the following interesting

statement was made by Major James Fraser of Castle Leathers, who in the document declares that he was then, 1759, in his eighty-ninth year, having been born in 1670. He says—

“At Inchoch, the nineteenth day of February, one thousand seven hundred and fifty nine years, in presence of Alexander Inglis, Esq., Sheriff-Substitute of the Shire of Nairn, compeared Major James Fraser, of Castleleathers, aged eighty-eight, and going on eighty-nine, who being solemnly sworn maketh oath, and says that he was well acquainted with the deceased Hugh Fraser of Foyers, and that he knows when, in the end of the late Queen Anne’s reign, pensions were distributed among the Highland clans, and that Alexander Mackenzie of Fraserdale, who then possessed the estate of Lovat, and was married to the eldest daughter of Hugh Lord Lovat, had one of these pensions, and made an offer of part of it to the said Hugh Fraser for coming into his measures, the said Hugh Fraser refused to accept the same, as he understood it was to support the Pretender’s interests; and that some time after, the said Hugh Fraser and the deceased Hugh Fraser of Struy, and Alexander Fraser of Culduthel, and he, the said James Fraser, met together and wrote a letter to the late Duke of Argyll acquainting him of what had passed, and that they were ready to raise the greatest part of the clan Fraser, and join with his Grace in support of the Protestant succession. That the said Hugh Fraser went afterwards to Edinburgh by advice of the well-affected gentlemen of the name of Fraser, and was by the deceased Mr James Cuthbert, who was minister of Culross, and a relation of the family of Lovat, introduced to such as were in concert at Edinburgh to support the Protestant succession. That he likewise knows when the late Alexander Macdonell of Glengarry and Colin Campbell of Glendaruel were, after the death of the late Queen Anne, soliciting an address among the Highland clans to the Pretender, the said Hugh Fraser of Foyers refused to sign the same, and that he and the other gentlemen of the name of Fraser who were above mentioned drew up an address to his late Majesty, which they sent to the late Duke of Argyll; that he likewise knows when, after the succession of his late Majesty, the Rebellion broke out in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifteen, the said Hugh Fraser of Foyers (who had then been appointed by his Majesty one of the Deputy-Lieutenants in the north) did, at his own expense, raise a body of men for the King’s service when the other Highland clans were gathering around to go to Perth, and that the body of men which he raised joined the Earl of Sutherland and the late Lord Lovat when they got to the country and raised their men for the King’s service, and that, at the request of the late Lord President Forbes and his brother, the late John Forbes of

Culloden, the said Hugh Fraser put a garrison of his men in the house of Culloden, and defended it against the rebels who were then in possession of the town of Inverness, within two miles of the said house, and when the Earl of Sutherland and the late Lord Lovat, after they had come to the country and had raised so many men for his late Majesty, and wanted to send some intelligence to the late Duke of Argyll, when at Stirling with his Majesty's troops, the said Hugh Fraser was the person singled out to go with their despatches, and that he remembers he went and returned in the winter time from Stirling to Perth, where the greatest part of the clan Fraser were with Fraserdale then in the Rebellion, and by the said Hugh Fraser of Foyers' connection with and influence on that part of the clan made about three hundred of them desert in one night, who upon their home-coming, joined the late Lord Lovat and the Earl of Sutherland, who were then in arms for his Majesty King George, that he knows the said Hugh Fraser was, during the said Rebellion at a considerable expense in the service of the Government beyond what his small estate could afford, and that he ran in debt on that account. That he likewise knows he and his tenants did suffer damage in that time of the rebels, tho' he does not at this distance of time remember the particulars. That he likewise knows the said Hugh Fraser after the Rebellion (was suppressed) made out a state of his case and an affidavit of his losses in order to be laid before Sir Robert Walpole ; and further, that the said Hugh Fraser, told him, the deponent, then in London that he was desired by the late General Cadogan, with whom he was acquainted when that General was in the North of Scotland to come up to London, and that he should have his interest with the Ministry to have his losses made up and a place or pension given him for his loyalty and attachment. But upon his telling Lord Lovat that he was to apply to General Cadogan for that end he, Lord Lovat, absolutely discharged him, as it then happened Lord Lovat and General Cadogan were of different parties ; and Lord Lovat in the deponent's hearing at sundry times when they were at London desired Hugh Fraser of Foyers to go home and that he would take care of his interest both at London and home, and that he would advance him money to pay all the losses he had sustained and debt he had contracted in support of the Government ; and moreover depones that Lord Lovat brought the said Hugh Fraser of Foyers to wait of the late Duke of Argyll, who gave him his hand and assured him as soon as it was in his power he should be provided for ; and further depones that it consists with the deponent's knowledge that the said Hugh Foyers by his dexterity and management in many particulars was at that period very instrumental in quelling the then rebellion in the North ; and siklike depones that the present James Fraser of Foyers was the first man of four who had entered into a resolution to

stand by the Government when the Rebellion of jn viic and forty-five broke out, who signed a letter to the present Duke of Argyll for that purpose, which deed being made known to the late Lord Lovat, nothing but destruction was denounced against him by Lord Lovat for entering into such without his knowledge, which the deponent believes and had reason to know, as well as many others, was the sole cause of the said James Fraser of Foyers his being induced by Lord Lovat to go into the last rebellion, as Lovat kept a sum of money that was due him by Foyers as a ferule over his head, and being a weak man, though honest, was by him intimidated from putting his former resolution into execution, which is truth as he shall answer to God, and depones he cannot write by reason of a tremour in his hand.

(Signed) ALEXANDER INGLIS. GEO. DONALDSON."

The foregoing statement by Castle Leathers was corroborated by another made on oath and signed by George Drummond, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, who said that he was acquainted with the deceased Hugh Fraser of Foyers ; that it was consistent with his knowledge that he did come to Edinburgh in the end of Queen Anne's reign ; that he was then introduced to him and other gentlemen who were acting in concert to support the Protestant succession in his late Majesty's family in the event of the Queen's death ; that Hugh Fraser did treat and settle with him and the other gentlemen in concert with him that he would undertake for the greatest part of the clan Fraser to join with them in support of the object they had in view, and that, if they took the field, he would raise a body of men and endeavour to join them. He remembered that after the accession of his late Majesty, when in the winter of 1715 he (the Lord Provost) was at Stirling with the late Duke of Argyll, who then commanded the King's troops in Scotland, to have seen the said Hugh Fraser of Foyers coming there to the Duke, and that he brought him some important intelligence from the King's friends, then assembled in the North, and he particularly remembered that the paper Fraser brought with him to Argyll was concealed "in the heart of a stick he walked with in his hand"; that there was at the time a great fall of snow upon the ground, and that he returned with an answer from the Duke to the King's friends in the North.

Nothing seems to have come of this second appeal any more than of the preceding one, and the family was gradually sinking under the debts and difficulties which ultimately ended in the estates being sequestrated and sold.

James married Katharine Fraser, with issue—

1. Hugh, to whom, as already stated, the estates were disposed in 1745.

2. Simon.

3. Anne.

Both James and his wife were alive in 1759, but seem to have died soon after, when he was succeeded by his elder son,

X. HUGH FRASER, tenth of Foyers, as head of the House. The estates were already his. In 1742 he had married Christian, youngest daughter of Archibald Cameron of Dungallon (marriage contract dated at Strontian, the 29th of June in that year), with issue—

1. John, who, on the 12th of March, 1774, received a Commission in Lord Adam Gordon's Company, 1st Battalion First Royals. He is mentioned in General Fraser's entail, but he died before his father, without issue.

2. Hugh, also named in General Fraser's entail, but he too died without issue before 1797.

3. Alexander, of whom the same is true as his brother Hugh.

4. Simon, who succeeded his father.

5. Isabel, who in 1770 married George Cameron of Letterfinlay.

6. Jean.

7. Katherine, who married the Rev. Alexander Fraser, minister of Kilmallie. She is described in a post-nuptial contract of marriage, dated the 1st and 6th of February, 1787, as the third lawful daughter of Hugh Fraser of Foyers. The Rev. Alexander Stewart, LL.D., Nether-Lochaber, recently wrote the following interesting particulars of this pair's courtship, marriage, and descendants—The Rev. Alexander Fraser, of Kilmallie "is said to have been a very handsome man, and in his day one of the most popular preachers in the West Highlands. Anne, daughter of

Captain Duncan Cameron, Kinlochiel (Donacha' Mac Alasdair), who was a member of his congregation, fell in love with him; and it was believed he would have married her had he not meanwhile come in contact with Foyers' daughter, the lady who afterwards became his wife, under circumstances so romantic that an engagement became inevitable. On one occasion, whilst Mr Fraser was on a visit to Foyers, a party from the house embarked on board a boat with the view of crossing Loch Ness and calling on the Grants of Glenmoriston. When nearing the Glenmoriston shore, Katharine, Foyers' daughter, in moving from one part of the boat to the other, chanced to fall overboard. Mr Fraser instantly threw off his coat and hat and leaping into the loch, swam to the drowning lady, and held her head well above water until the people in the boat, hurriedly pulling back, managed to take them both safely on board again. Anne, the Lochaber sweetheart, had no chance after such a bit of romance as that; but she did not in the least break her heart over the disappointment (ladies of the right sort rarely do!), for within a few months of the minister's marriage she too was happily married to a kinsman of her own, who made her an excellent husband and by whom she became the mother of a numerous family. During their courting days Anne composed a Gaelic song to Mr Fraser, which, on one occasion, many years ago, I heard sung by the late Mr Kennedy, Tomachuillich, Ardgour. I can only remember two verses and the chorus, which were as follows:—

'S e fear mo ghaoil, Alasdair,

Ars' Anna, nig'h'n 'Ic Alasdair;

'S e fear mo chridhe Alasdair,

'S e Parson Chillamhaillie.

'Nuair chunnaic mi 'sa chrannaig thu,

Bu mhor an speis a ghabh mi dhìot;

'Fhir a chuil dualaich, chamagaich,

Gur fearail fiamh do ghaire.

'S e fear mo ghaoil, etc.

Gum b'fhearr leam thu ri d' phosadh,

Na fear a chruin, Rìgh Deorsa;

La seachdainneach no Donach,
 Gum be mo dheoin 'bhi laimh ruit !
'S e fear mo ghaoil, etc.

Dr Stewart adds—"In 1848 or thereabouts, a Captain William Fraser, a retired army officer, son of the said Maighistir Alasdair of Kilmallie, was living on his half pay in Oban; and having become acquainted with him I can recollect that when the estate of Foyers was sold he made a claim in right of his mother on a share of the purchase money. Whether his claim was allowed or rejected I cannot say; but I rather think his claim was disallowed, and that although, having a large family of sons and daughters, he very much needed it, he got nothing. In 1849 Captain Fraser removed from Oban to Glasgow, where he died shortly afterwards in the seventy-fourth year of his age. Two sons of this Captain William Fraser, great-grandsons of Hugh of Foyers, emigrated, and now are or lately were prosperous squatters in Australia."

Hugh died in 1790, when he was succeeded by his only surviving son,

XI. SIMON FRASER, eleventh of Foyers, Deputy-Lieutenant for Inverness-shire, the last proprietor of his race in Foyers. He was born in 1760. He is one of the substitutes in General Fraser's entail in 1774, and in 1778 he received a Commission as Lieutenant in the Northern Fencibles. In 1794 he is a Captain in the Strathspey Fencibles. Early in the century a severe contest for the Parliamentary representation of Inverness-shire was fought between the Frasers and the Grants, when Foyers, no doubt in consequence of his having married a daughter of Glenmoriston, supported Charles Grant, who carried the day. Colonel the Hon. Archibald Fraser of Lovat was mortally offended at such conduct from a leading member of the clan, and he proposed that Foyers should ever after be known, not as Simon Fraser but as Simon Grant. And with the view of placing himself in a position to annoy his unpatriotic clansman the more effectually he succeeded in obtaining possession by excambion of Boleskine glebe, in the heart of

the Foyers estate, built Boleskine House upon it, resided there a considerable portion of his time, and was a constant source of trouble to Simon about fences, marches, and other subjects of contention.

Mr Fraser-Mackintosh says that he "was most hospitable. No one ever passed his door who had the remotest claim upon him, and his house was a veritable hotel. Unfortunately he was of an easy temper, readily cajoled. His own debts at the beginning of the century did not exceed £2000, but he became involved with Rothiemurchus, Letterfinlay, Anderson of Gortuleg, and numerous others, so that in 1825, it had run up to £10,000, and by 1836 to £14,000. After his death on the 27th of April, 1842, the estate fell under sequestration, but all the creditors were ultimately paid, as the estate fetched a handsome price." Simon married, in 1789 (post nuptial marriage contract dated the 20th and 26th of March) Elizabeth, who died on the 28th of November, 1823, third daughter of Patrick Grant of Glenmoriston, with issue—an only child Jean, who, on the 20th of March, 1817, married Captain Thomas Fraser, VI. of Balnain, and died "much lamented the same year (on the 7th of July) in the flower of her age," without issue. He died, as already stated, on the 27th of April, 1842, aged 83, without any surviving issue, and left the estate of Foyers to James Murray Grant of Glenmoriston, his wife's nephew, but it was so much involved in debt that it was sequestered and sold to pay Simon's debts. Who the present heir-male of the family is, if any such exists, we have not been able to ascertain.

THE FRASERS OF REELICK.

I. HUGH or HUCHEON BAN FRASER, a natural son of Thomas, fourth Lord Lovat, by a daughter of "Mac Dhughail" Macdonald of Morar, was the progenitor of this family. He married with issue—

II. THOMAS FRASER, second of Reelick, some time of Wester Aigais, who married Margaret, described in 1551 as "Nin Homais Mac Ian vic Ewen, Baroness of Moniack." Her husband is described in a deed dated 9th October, 1578, as "Thomas Fraser Mac Hutcheon Bane," by which time she was dead. He was succeeded by his son,

III. THOMAS FRASER, third of Reelick, who has a charter as "apparent heir" from his father dated the 11th of February, 1587. He married one of the Saltoun family. He grants a charter in favour of his son and apparent heir,

IV. ALEXANDER FRASER, fourth of Reelick, and Margaret Douglas his spouse, daughter of William Douglas of Earlsmill, dated the 15th of August, 1601. He is again on record in 1609. He was succeeded by his son,

V. ALEXANDER FRASER, fifth of Reelick, who is retoured to his father, Alexander, before the Sheriff of Inverness on the 20th of September, 1636. He married Catherine, daughter of William Mackenzie of Shildaig, sixth son of John Roy Mackenzie, IV. of Gairloch (marriage contract dated 1636). He was succeeded by his son,

VI. ALEXANDER FRASER, sixth of Reelick, whose name is entered in the Valuation Roll of 1644 for the county of Inverness for £258 13s 4d. He has a charter under the Great Seal, dated the 1st of March, 1665. He was succeeded by

VII. ALEXANDER FRASER, seventh of Reelick, whose name appears in the Valuation Roll for the same county in 1691 for £170. He married a daughter of Mackenzie of Redcastle, and had at least two sons—

I. James, described as "heir of Alexander" in 1684.

2. Hugh of Moniack, who was Chamberlain to the Dowager Lady Lovat in 1702. A petition to the Privy Council shows that he was attacked in his house by John Fraser, brother of Lord Simon, and that his party were beaten by the intruders with the butt end of their guns, and many of them killed.

Alexander was succeeded by his son,

VIII. JAMES FRASER, of Reelick, who was retoured to his father on the 11th of December, 1694. The lands of Abriachan were under wadset for 10,000 merks to James and Alexander Fraser, elder and younger, in 1704. He married Katharine, daughter of Fraser of Achnagairn, with issue—

IX. ALEXANDER FRASER, ninth of Reelick, who was born in 1680. In 1730 he conveyed the wadset of Abriachan held by his father and himself jointly in 1704 to Evan, younger son of Alexander Baillie, I. of Dochfour. He has a charter under the Great Seal on the 12th of February, 1733. He married and had issue—

1. Alexander, his heir and successor.

2. Hannah, who in 1709 married Alexander Baillie, second of Dochfour, with issue, among others, Hugh Baillie, third of Dochfour, who on the 10th of June, 1730, married his cousin, Emilia, daughter of Alexander Fraser, X. of Reelick.

3. Janet, who died in Gairloch, Ross-shire, on the 17th of December, 1758, aged 73 years. He died in 1744, aged 64 years, and was succeeded by his son,

X. ALEXANDER FRASER, tenth of Reelick, referred to as "Younger of Reelick" in 1727. He is mentioned again in the same capacity in 1743. He married Catherine, daughter of Fraser of Belladrum, with issue—

1. James, his son and successor.

2. Emilia, who on the 10th of June, 1730, married Hugh Baillie, third of Dochfour, with issue—four sons and four daughters.

He was succeeded by his son,

XI. JAMES FRASER, eleventh of Reelick, who built the new house at Easter Moniack, the present family residence.

He resided for seventeen years in India, and acquired a great knowledge of the Arabic, Persic, and Indian languages, and he is said to have left a very large and valuable collection of manuscripts in the first named two. He married Mary, only daughter of Edward Satchwell of Satchewell, Warwickshire, with issue—

1. Edward Satchwell, his heir and successor.
2. Mary, who was born at Surat, India, in 1746, and died there young.
3. Catherine, born at Easter Moniack in 1752 and perished at sea, unmarried, in 1783.
4. Ann, who died when only two years old.

He died at Moniack, on the 21st of June, 1754, at the age of 42 years, when he was succeeded by his son,

XII. EDWARD SATCHWELL FRASER, twelfth of Reelick, who was born at Easter Moniack on the 22nd of April, 1751, and married on the 11th of September, 1782, Jane, third daughter of William Fraser, W.S., IV. of Balnain, with issue—

1. James Baillie, his heir and successor.
2. William Fraser, born at Easter Moniack on the 6th of April, 1784. He was on the Bengal Establishment, and served with great distinction as Chief Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit at Delhi, where he was assassinated by a native Indian Prince on the 25th of March, 1835, unmarried.
3. Edward Satchwell, who was born at Easter Moniack on the 26th of April, 1786, and died at St. Helena, on the 25th of April, 1813.
4. Alexander Charles, of the East Indian Civil Service, Assistant to the Resident at Delhi. He was born at Inverness on the 10th of April, 1789 and died at Delhi, in India, on the 4th of June, 1816.
5. George John, an officer in the H.E.I. Company's Army. He was born on the 13th of May, 1800, and in 1832, married Wilhelmina Moore, without issue. He died in India in August, 1842.

6. Mary, died young and unmarried, in September, 1806.

7. Jane Catherine, who died in 1797, when only three years old.

8. Jane Anne Catherine, who on the 10th of June, 1816, married Philip Affleck Fraser, IX. of Culduthel, with issue, among several sons and daughters, John, X. of Culduthel, whose son Philip Affleck Fraser succeeded to and is now XI. of Culduthel and XVI. of Reelick.

Edward Satchwell (whose widow survived until the 20th of December, 1847, at the age of 98 years) died in 1835, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

XIII. JAMES BAILLIE FRASER, thirteenth of Reelick, who was born at Edinburgh, on the 11th of June, 1783. In early life he went to the West Indies but he soon left it and proceeded to the East, when he became a partner in a well-known mercantile house in Calcutta. His tastes, however, lay more in the direction of the fine arts and adventure than in that of commerce. He travelled a great deal, after which he returned home in 1822. In the following year he married and returned to India, where he was employed in a diplomatic mission in the performance of which he rode all the way from Constantinople to Ispahan, a feat the fatigues and hardships of which permanently undermined his naturally robust constitution. When the Persian Princes visited Britain he was, in consequence of his great knowledge of Eastern affairs and of their language, appointed by the Government to accompany the Royal strangers and take charge of them during their visit; and on their return journey he convoyed them as far as Constantinople. He was the author of several important works. In 1820 he published *A Tour through the Snowy Range of the Himalaya Mountains*; in 1825 *A Narrative of a Journey into Khorassan* in the years 1821 and 1822, including an account of a journey to the North East of Persia; in 1826 *Travels and Adventures in the Persian Provinces*; and in 1828 a work of fiction entitled *The Kuzzilbash, a Tale of Khorassan*, in which he described Persian life and manners; and to which he subsequently wrote a continuation under the name of *The Persian Adven-*

turer. In 1838 he published *A Winter Journey from Constantinople to Teheran*, with travels through various parts of Persia. For the Cabinet Library of Oliver & Boyd he wrote *A History of Persia*; and he afterwards published another work of fiction entitled *The Highland Smugglers*. He finally gave to the world *The Khan's Tales*, a military memoir of his friend Colonel Skinner, a distinguished Indian officer, who died at Delhi in 1841. That he was an excellent writer is proved from a notice of his Kuzzilbash in the *Quarterly Review* by Sir Walter Scott, in the course of which that great man says—"Scenes of active life are painted by the author with the same truth, accuracy, and picturesque effect which he displays in landscape or single figures. In war, especially he is at home, and gives the attack, the retreat, the rally, the bloody and desperate close combat, the flight, the pursuit and massacre, with all the current of a heavy fight, as one who must have witnessed such terrors"; and it has been said that his description of the return of his Kuzzilbash to his native village is one of the finest efforts of the kind in modern romance.

But he was more than a good and prolific writer. He was a very accomplished artist. He is described as an "exquisite painter in water colours," and several of his drawings of Eastern scenes have been engraved. "One magnificent volume of coloured engravings from his drawings in the East was published by him at great expense." He took much pains with laying out his beautiful garden at Easter Moniack. In his old age he used to point out to his friends a clump of fine cedars planted the year he was born, and he evidently resolved to follow up the example set him by his predecessors by the planting of these and other trees and shrubs from the East, and the visitor to the house in which he died will see the result at the present day in the picturesque and beautiful grounds, rich by nature and embellished by art, by which it is surrounded.

He married on the 4th of September, 1823, Jane, third and youngest daughter of Alexander Fraser-Tytler, Lord Woodhouselee, Senator of the College of Justice, and

afterwards of Aldourie, without issue. He died at Easter Moniack on the 23rd of January, 1856, aged 72 years, when the male representation of the family became extinct. He left the estate of Reelick in life-rent to his widow, with a destination after her death to his sister, Jane Anne Catherine.

On his death, he was succeeded as life-rent proprietrix by his widow,

XIV. JANE FRASER TYTLER-FRASER, fourteenth of Reelick. She died on the 23rd of October, 1861, aged 75 years, when she was succeeded by James Baillie Fraser's sister, only surviving child of Edward Satchwell Fraser, XII. of Reelick,

XV. JANE ANNE CATHERINE FRASER,, fifteenth of Reelick, who had on the 10th of June, 1816, married Philip Affleck Fraser, IX. of Culduthel, with issue—seven sons, and six daughters, for whom, and Culduthel's grandchildren, see p. 593. Jane Catherine Fraser, in 1879, gave over the estate of Reelick during her life to her grandson,

XVI. PHILIP AFFLECK FRASER, sixteenth and now of Reelick, and XI. of Culduthel, Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society and member of the Institution of Civil Engineers. He married in 1889, Augusta Zeila, eldest daughter of William Frederick Webb of Newstead, Notts, with issue, two daughters—

1. Phyllis Mary.
2. Violet Mabel.

THE FRASERS OF DUNBALLOCH AND NEWTON.

THE Frasers of Fruid were a branch of the Frasers of Drumelzier and they possessed a considerable estate in Peebles-shire for several generations down to the reign of James IV. of Scotland, when the property passed to an heir female, Agnes Fraser, who had been betrothed to Malcolm Fleming, brother of John Lord Fleming, ancestor of the Earls of Wigtoun, but she was forcibly carried away and married by John Tweedie, then of Drumelzier, acquired by his family through an earlier Fraser alliance. This abduction and marriage caused a sanguinary feud between the families of Fleming and Tweedie, in the course of which John Lord Fleming was slain by John Tweedie of Drumelzier at Biggar on the 1st of November, 1522. Lord Fleming's death not only caused a great deal of bloodshed at the time, but raised a flame which was never fully extinguished while the Tweedies of Drumelzier existed. Although the Fruid estates had been carried into another family by Agnes Fraser the heiress, there were still male representatives of her house and name. In the reign of James III. John, a younger son of Fraser of Fruid, was bred to the Church, and in due course became Rector of Douglas, subsequently Dean of the Royal Collegiate Church of Restalrig, then Abbot of Melrose, and Lord Register, to which he was promoted by James IV., and was finally in 1485 appointed to the Episcopal See of Ross, of which he continued Bishop until his death on the 5th of February, 1507, aged 78 years, when he was buried in Fortrose Cathedral, which he finished before his death.

The Bishop had an elder brother,

JAMES, who married Anne, daughter of Wallace of Craigie, with issue—eight sons and one daughter,

1. Andrew, who died without issue male before his father

but left a daughter, Agnes, who became the heiress of Fruid who was carried away and married by John Tweedie of Drumelzier, as already stated.

2. Paul, who entered into holy orders, and was settled at Rosskeen, county of Ross.

3. Almond, also in holy orders, and settled in Alness.

4. JOHN FRASER, progenitor of the family of Dunballoch. He was Chamberlain, *alter oculus*, for his uncle the Bishop, at Nigg, and married Margaret, daughter of MacCulloch, then proprietor of Cadboll, near Invergordon, with issue—an only son, Donald, of whom presently.

5. Alexander, from whom the Frasers of Phopachy, of whom in their order.

6. James, ancestor of Provost Andrew Fraser of Inverness; Robert Fraser, advocate; his brother, the Rev. Michael Fraser, minister of Dores; and several other prominent men.

7. Duncan, progenitor of the Frasers of Munloch and Daltullich.

8. Robert, Chamberlain to the Abbot of Fearn, of whom are descended many Frasers in Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness.

9. Janet, who married Andrew Munro of Milntown, county of Ross.

On the death of James, the Bishop's elder brother (his three brothers, Andrew, Paul, and Almond, having died unmarried), his male representation devolved upon

DONALD FRASER, Archdean of Ross, famous for his courage and valour. He held the Bishop's castle of Chanonry in Ross, against the Lairds of Kintail, Balnagowan, Fowlis, and Cromarty, "the most powerful men of the county, till the Bishop of Aberdeen, with other men of distinction, came to accommodate matters between them." He turned Protestant at the Reformation, and married Elizabeth, daughter of John Rose, first of Bellivat, son of Hugh Rose, VIII. of Kilravock, by his wife Margaret, sister of George Earl of Huntly.

The Archdean, some time after this, while returning from

Edinburgh, was shot by his own servant, at the Church of Alford, "where he had appointed the servant to meet him with his horses, he being bribed to do so (as is alleged) by some of the Dean's enemies in Ross-shire. He was buried in the Kirk of Alford by the care of George Earl of Huntly, but his landed estate in Ross (Sligach and Drynie) which was considerable, was seized and possessed by his enemies (the Mackenzies), the then unhappy state of the kingdom in general, joined with the minority of his children, offering a favourable opportunity for committing such violence." By his wife, Elizabeth Rose, the Archdean had issue—

1. James, who, on the invitation of Hugh Lord Lovat, settled at Tomich, near Beauly, and whose son, also James, went to reside at Dunballoch and became progenitor of the Frasers designated of that place.

2. John Fraser, of Inchrory, who married Barbara Lindsay and had a son, Donald Fraser of Leys, who died without issue.

3. Alexander Fraser of Waternish Moor, issue extinct.

4. Andrew Fraser of Bannans, whose descendants have also died out.

Donald had six daughters—Anna, Helen, Janet, Margaret, Katharine, and Mary.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

JAMES FRASER, who was taken by his relative the Earl of Huntly, with all his papers and rights to his father's estate in Ross, to the Bog of Gight, now Castle Gordon, where he was brought up and remained until the death of his Lordship, when he was invited by Hugh Lord Lovat to the Aird. The papers and rights to his father's property which he had left at Gordon Castle, were afterwards, along with the Marquis of Huntly's charter chest, taken to the house of Gordon of Strathloch, at the time Tutor of Huntly, where they were all destroyed in an accidental fire. His enemies "taking advantage of this misfortune, the minority of his children, and the then unhappy state of the country, maintained themselves in possession of the lands they had

violently seized." This James married Agnes, daughter of Bannerman of Buttertoun, with issue—an only son,

I. JAMES FRASER, who left Tomich, went to Dunballoch and purchased the baronies of Kingillie and Drumchardiny in the parish of Kirkhill. He married first, Mary, daughter of Alexander Fraser of Reelick, with issue—

1. Alexander, who died before his father, without issue.

2. Isabella, who died on the 18th of March, 1675, without issue.

3. Anna.

He married secondly, Margaret, eldest daughter of Hugh Fraser, III. of Belladrum, with issue—

4. Thomas, who succeeded him.

5. Andrew, who died without issue.

6. Hugh, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Foot Guards, who purchased the lands of Kessock and Kilmuir Wester in the county of Ross. He married Christian, daughter of William Macnaughton of that Ilk, Collector of Customs at Anstruther, with issue—an only daughter Henrietta, who married Sir Charles Erskine of Alva, with issue.

Colonel Hugh was a distinguished soldier, and was killed in command of his regiment in 1745 at the battle of Fontenoy at the great age for an officer on active service of 78 years.

7. William, who married Anna, daughter of Hugh Fraser, V. of Belladrum, without issue.

8. Katharine, who married first, Andrew Fraser of Bannans, and secondly, John Fraser of Dunchea.

9. Elizabeth, who died unmarried.

10. Magdalen, who as his third wife married Hugh Fraser of Aigais, with issue—William, Robert, Andrew, Margaret, Isobel, Mary, and Amelia.

11. Janet, who married Hector, brother to Hugh Fraser of Reelick.

12. Mary.

He died on the 24th of June, 1705, aged 86 years, and was buried at Beaulieu Priory.

He was succeeded by his eldest son by his second wife,

II. THOMAS FRASER, second of Dunballoch, and of Newton, Sheriff-Depute of Inverness-shire in 1713 by commission under the Great Seal. He married Isobel (who died on the 2nd of May, 1757), daughter of John Mac-kintosh of Wester Drakies and Blervie, a merchant and Baillie of Inverness, with issue—

1. Hugh, his heir and successor.

2. William, a Captain in the British army, who acquired a wadset of Kingillie from his father. He is named after his brother Hugh in the entail of 1774. He married Christian, eldest daughter of James Fraser, V. of Belladrum, with issue—James, Thomas, Hugh, Anna, and May.

3. Simon of Fanellan, a Captain in the service of the United States of America. He is named after his brother William in General Fraser's entail. He married Mary Hutchinson, daughter of Thomas Fraser of St. Kitts, with issue—John Hutchinson Fraser, barrister; Thomas Fraser, 71st Regiment; Simon Fraser of St. Kitts; Hugh, Isabell, Anna, Joyce, Elizabeth Boyd, Willot Stanley, Jamesina, who married first, Colonel Campbell of the 78th Regiment, with issue—William, of the 4th Dragoon Guards, who married Arnim Styleman Le Strange; Simon, and Mary, who married Thomas Stewart. Jamesina married, secondly, John Stewart of Belladrum, with issue—John Hugh Fraser of the 51st Regiment, who died without issue; Charles, of the H.E.I.C.S., who also died without issue; Ann, who married Edward Dawson, M.P. of Whatton, Leicestershire; and Jamesina Joyce Ellen, who married first, Henry Styleman Le Strange of Hunstanton, Norfolk, and secondly Charles Wynne Finch of Voelas, Denbighshire.

4. Marjory, who married James Grant of Shewglie and Redcastle, with issue—James, and others. She died at the age of 101 years.

5. Emilia, who married the Rev. John Grant, minister of Kilmore, Glenurquhart, with issue—one daughter, Isobella, who married Major Alpin Grant, who lived at Borlum, in that glen, fourth son of Patrick Grant, VIII. of Glen-

moriston, with issue—three daughters, who married respectively, Grant of Dalshangie, Fraser of Tor, and Alexander Grant, factor for Glenmoriston.

6. Magdalen, who married Peter Fraser of Fingask, a brother of Hugh Fraser of Belladrum, with issue—Hugh, and others.

7. Margaret, who married first, Robert Cheviz of Muirtown, with issue—an only daughter, Isobella Sutherland Cheviz, who married William Inglis, a Bailie of Inverness. She married secondly, John Clunas of Neilstoun, county of Sutherland, with issue—John, and others.

Thomas died on the 29th of July, 1754, was buried in Beaulieu Priory, and succeeded by his eldest son,

III. HUGH FRASER of Newton, educated at Leyden, and served as a volunteer under his uncle at Fontenoy. He is mentioned in General Simon Fraser's entail in 1774, as one of the substitutes. He married Margaret, eldest daughter of Alexander Chisholm, XXII. of Chisholm, by his wife Elizabeth, only daughter of Roderick Mackenzie, IV. of Applecross, by his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, first Baronet and IV. of Scatwell, and by her had issue—

1. Thomas, his heir and successor.

2. Alexander of Balconie and Inchcoulter, who was born on the 30th of July, 1759, and married Emilia, daughter of Colonel Duff of the family of Muirtown, near Inverness, with issue—Captain Evan Baillie of Balconie and Inchcoulter, Ross-shire, who ultimately on the death of Alexander Fraser, VI. of Newton, on the 7th of March, 1848, became male heir and representative of the Frasers of Dunballoch.

3. Roderick, a General in the army, born on the 12th of October, 1764. He married Miss Jerningham, with issue—a son Roderick; a daughter who married Sir Joseph Needham; and another daughter, who married John Needham.

4. Archibald, who died without issue.

5. Adam, who died without issue.

6. Joseph, who died without issue.

7. Elizabeth, who died unmarried.

8. Anna, died unmarried on the 21st of February, 1823.

9. Margaret, who married David George Sandeman of Springland, near Perth, with issue—(1) Hugh Fraser Sandeman, who married Julia Burnand, with issue—(a) Lewis, who died without issue; (b) Hugh Fraser Sandeman, H.E.I.C.S.; (c) Theophilus Sandeman, who married Miss Caldwell; (d) Fraser Sandeman, who married Miss Wakefield; (e) Roderick Sandeman, married; (f) Duncan Sandeman, married; (g) Antoinette, who married E. Budd of Vale Lodge, Surrey; (h) Flora, who married Dr Cullum; (i) Julia Georgina Elizabeth, and (j) Wilhelmine, who married first, MacNicol, and secondly, David George Sandeman. (2) David Sandeman of Kirkwood, Dumfriesshire, who married Julia, daughter of Robertson of Foveran, Aberdeenshire, with issue—(a) David George Sandeman, Colonel 16th Lancers, who married first, Celia, daughter of Colonel Cockburn, and secondly, his cousin, Wilhelmine, daughter of Hugh Fraser Sandeman by Julia Burnand. (3) Anna, who died without issue; (4) Jane, who died without issue; (5) Margaret, who married William Fraser, W.S., father of William Fraser, XI. of Culbokie.

10. Katharine Bristow, who married William Landreth, with issue—William, an officer in the 1st Royals, who died without issue; and several daughters—Margaret, Amelia, and Eliza, the last two married.

11. Isobel, who died without issue.

12. Elizabeth, who married Ross of Oakbank, Perth, with issue—Thomas Ross, a Captain in the 73rd Regiment, born in 1807, and married Amelia, daughter of W. Crawshay of Caversham Park, Oxford, and Cyfarthfa Castle, Glamorganshire, with issue—(a) William Ross, an officer in the 78th Regiment; (b) Robert Ross; (c) Edward Ross; (d) Alastair Graham Ross, and (e) Amelia.

13. Jane, who died unmarried; and nine other children, all of whom died young or unmarried.

Hugh died on the 13th of August, 1785, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

IV. THOMAS FRASER of Newton, Major in the 1st Royal

Scots. He was born on the 20th of March, 1758, and succeeded his father in 1785. He married Katharine (who died on the 23rd of January, 1849), only daughter of Alexander Mackintosh, of the family of Drakies and Provost of Inverness, by his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Hugh Inglis of Kingsmills, with issue—

1. Hugh, his heir and successor.
2. Alexander, who succeeded his brother Hugh.
3. Elizabeth, who died unmarried, 10th of January, 1867.
4. Margaret, who married Major Ludovick Stewart of

Pityvaich, county of Banff, 24th Regiment, and brother of John Stewart of Belladrum, with issue—(1) Thomas Forbes Stewart, who married Mary, daughter of Colonel William Campbell of the 78th Regiment, with issue—Mary Fraser Stewart, who died in 1894, and Margaret Annie Stewart. She died in 1889 and he in 1892. (2) John Drummin Stewart, who married Annie, daughter of Charles Mac-kinnon, Corrie, Isle of Skye, without issue. He died in 1874. (3) Ludovick Charles Stewart, an officer in the 78th Regiment, and Surgeon-General in the army, who married Emma, daughter of D. Rae, with issue—Hugh Fraser Stewart, a clergyman, and Margaret Clifford Stewart. (4) Gordon Elliot Stewart, in the Bombay Army, who died without issue. (5) The Rev. Hugh Alexander Stewart, minister of the Free Church of Penicuik, who died in 1893. (6) Alexander Fraser Stewart, a Major in the Indian army, who died in 1894. (7) Katharine Stewart, who married the Right Rev. Alexander Ewing Bishop of Argyll and the Isles. She died in 1855, and he died in 1873, leaving issue—(a) John Ewing, Colonel Madras Staff Corps, who married Mary, daughter of General William Anson Mac-Cleverty, Colonel of the 45th Regiment, Commander in Chief at Madras, with issue—Alastair Ewing, born in 1872, and John Ludovick Ewing, born in 1885; (b) Alexander Ewing, of the 78th and 80th Regiments, and subsequently Vicar of Walmer, Kent, who married Cecilia Laura, daughter of Adolphus Meetkerke of Julians, Herts, with issue—Katharine May Meetkerke Ewing; and Florence Stewart

Meetkerke Ewing, who in 1893, married Major Kenneth Schalch Baynes, late of the 79th Cameron Highlanders, and son of Sir William Baynes, Baronet. Alexander Ewing died in 1877, and his widow, in 1879, married, as her second husband, Thomas Ramsay Biscoe of Newton. She died on the 12th of November, 1892. (c) Samuel Ewing, born in 1848, Lieutenant, R.N. He married Charlotte, daughter of Sir Charles des Vœux of Indiville, Queen's County, Ireland, with issue—Arthur Alexander Ewing, and Katharine. (d) Ludovick Stewart Rudolph Ewing, C.E., who died without issue in 1885; (e) Margaret Clifford Ewing, who married Alexander Crum of Thornliebank, M.P. for Renfrewshire, who died in 1893, having had issue—Walter Ewing Crum, Stewart Crum, and John Ludovick Crum; (f) Katharine Louisa Elspeth Jane Ewing, who married William Ingham Whitaker of Pylewell Park, Hants. She died in 1876, and he died in 1893, having had issue—Ingham William Whitaker, now of Pylewell Park, and Evelyn Sophia Whitaker, who died without issue. (8) Clifford Melville Stewart, who married the Rev. Charles Kirkby Robinson, Master of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, with issue—Ludovick Stewart Robinson, a clergyman, who married Lilla, daughter of Charles Mortlock, without issue; Charles Stewart Robinson, who died young, and Mary Stewart Robinson. (9) Annie, who died without issue. (10) Elizabeth Newton Stewart, who, on the 14th of February, 1759, married Henry Gordon, son of Sir William Gordon Cumming, Baronet of Altyre and Gordonstown, with issue—Henry William Gordon Cumming, who married Evelyn, daughter of Mr and Lady Jane Lindsay, and Ludovick Gordon Cumming, a Captain in the 45th Regiment, who married a daughter of Count de Morel. (11) Jamesina, who died without issue.

5. Katharine, who married Benjamin Goldsmid Elliot, and died at Inverness on the 7th of February, 1890, without issue.

6. Isabella, who married James Wilson, banker, Inverness. She died on the 4th of March, 1863, having had issue—(1) William Wilson, M.A. of St. Catherine's College,

Cambridge, Rector of Stoke Bruerne, Northamptonshire, who married Magdalen, daughter of Colonel Macfarlane, of the 14th and 4th Regiments, son of Bishop Duff Macfarlane of Moray, by Helen, daughter of George Inglis of Kingsmills, Inverness, by whom the Rev. William had issue—(a) James Wilson, who died without issue; (b) Arthur Forbes Macfarlane Wilson, who was born on the 1st of September, 1866; (c) William Elliot Wilson, born on the 10th of June, 1868; (d) Helen Baillie Inglis Wilson, who died without issue; (e) Isabella Fraser Wilson, who married the Rev. Mr Kennaway; and (f) Magdalen Duff Lennox Wilson. (2) Thomas Fraser Wilson, who died without issue. (3) Elliot Wilson, who died without issue. (4) Hugh Fraser Wilson, Captain in the 105th Regiment, who died without issue. (5) The Rev. James Wilson, M.A. of Jesus College, Cambridge, Vicar of St. Stephens, Norwich. He was born in 1837, and in 1861 married Ellen, daughter of the Rev. S. Silver, Vicar of Fulbourne, Cambridge, with issue—(a) James Clunas Wilson, born in 1862; (b) Hugh Fraser Wilson, born in 1865; (c) Frederick Maurice Wilson, born in 1865; (d) Elliot Wilson, born in 1870; (e) Francis John Wilson, born in 1873; (f) Thomas Erskine Wilson, born in 1874; (g) Mary Caroline Wilson; (h) Isabella Marjory Wilson; (i) Ellen Blanche Wilson; (j) Lucy Macleod Campbell; and (k) Amelia Dorothy. (6) The Rev. Alexander Newton Wilson, an Indian Chaplain, and now Vicar of Roade, Northamptonshire, born in 1840. (7) Katherine Fraser Wilson, who died without issue. (8) Marjory Wilson, who married the Rev. T. W. Cockshott, Vicar of Burwell, Cambridge, and Canon of Ely, without issue. She died in 1855. (9) Amelia Robertson Wilson, who, on the 28th of August, 1851, married Major-General John Robert Mackenzie, of the Portmore family, residing at Cheltenham, where he died in 1894. For his issue and descendants see the *History of the Mackenzies*, second edition, pp. 465-466. His wife died in 1893. (10) Ella Wilson, who as his first wife married in 1857, Captain John Fraser, VII. of Balnain, with issue.

7. Emily Duff, who died, unmarried, on the 20th of December, 1891.

8. Wilhelmine, who on the 26th of November, 1844, married Thomas Porter Bonell Biscoe, of the Hon. East India Company's service, and who, in 1850 purchased the estate of Newton from the trustees of his brother-in-law, Alexander Fraser, then of Newton. By Thomas Porter Bonell Biscoe (who died on the 20th of June, 1881), Wilhelmine Fraser, who died on the 27th of April, 1878, had issue—(1) Thomas Ramsay Biscoe, born on the 19th of October, 1850, now of Newton, who married Cecilia Laura (who died on the 12th of November, 1892), daughter of Adolphus Meetkerke of Julians, Herts, and widow of the Rev. Alexander Ewing (son of the Right Rev. Alexander Ewing, Bishop of Argyle and the Isles), by whom she had two daughters—Katharine May Meetkerke Ewing; and Florence Stewart Meetkerke Ewing, who in 1893, married Major Kenneth Schalch Baynes of the 79th Cameron Highlanders. By this lady Thomas Ramsay Biscoe had issue—(a) John Vincent Meetkerke, born on the 20th of July, 1880; and Cecilia Benigna Meetkerke; (2) William Fraser Biscoe, born on the 28th of April, 1855, now of Kingillie, who on the 7th of December, 1882, married Mary Alice, daughter of Francis Crozier of Delawarr, Lymington, Hants, with issue—Francis Ramsay Fraser, born on the 24th of January, 1884; Frederick Crozier Fraser, born in 1894; and Laura Fraser; (3) Katharine Emma, who married William Munro, Marchbank, Midlothian, without issue; and (4) Frances Anne Benigna, unmarried.

Thomas Fraser, who died on the 1st of June, 1838, and was buried in the Priory of Beaulieu, was succeeded by his eldest son,

V. HUGH FRASER of the H.E.I.C.S. and Newton. He was born on the 27th of April, 1797, and died without issue on the 7th of December, 1843, when he was succeeded by his brother,

VI. ALEXANDER FRASER of Newton and the H.E.I.C.S. He was born on the 15th of June, 1807, and married

Emilia (now residing in Hastings, Sussex), daughter of the Rev. William Walker, an Indian missionary, with issue—Katharine and Margaret, both unmarried. He died on the 7th of March, 1848 and, as already stated, his trustees, in 1850, sold the estate to Thomas Porter Bonell Biscoe, of the H.E.I.C.S., who had married his sister Wilhelmine, mother of Thomas Ramsay Biscoe now of Newton.

On the death of Alexander, he was succeeded as representative of the family, by his kinsman,

• VII. MAJOR EVAN BAILLIE FRASER of Balconie and Inchcoulter, late of the 88th Regiment of Foot. He married Jane, daughter of Dr John Inglis Nicol, Inverness, with issue—

- 1. Alexander Thomas, Colonel Royal Engineers, retired.
2. John James, a Lieutenant in the Bombay Army. He died unmarried.
3. Evan Baillie, who married in New Zealand, Annie Fenton, descended from an old Irish Family, without issue.
4. William Archibald, unmarried.
5. Elma Cumming Bruce, who died, unmarried.
6. Emilia Christian Duff, now at Redburn, unmarried.
7. Ann Robertson, who died unmarried.

Major Evan Baillie Fraser died at Redburn, Inverness, on the 7th of August, 1891, when he was succeeded as male representative of the family of Dunballoch by his eldest son,

VIII. ALEXANDER THOMAS FRASER, Colonel Royal Engineers, Madras, now retired and unmarried.

THE FRASERS OF PHOPACHY AND TORBRECK.

I. JAMES FRASER, the first of this family, was the immediate younger brother of John Fraser, progenitor of the Frasers of Dunballoch and Newton, son of James, elder son of Fraser of Fruid, and brother of John Fraser, Bishop of Ross, who died in 1507. For detailed particulars of this descent the reader is referred to the account already given of THE FRASERS OF DUNBALLOCH.

James Fraser of Phopachy was in February, 1597, dispatched by Simon Lord Lovat to King James VI., then at Falkirk, with a message in connection with a dispute which had arisen between the Mackenzies on the one hand, and the Baynes and Munros on the other, a full account of which will be found at pp. 137-140. Shaw says that Simon Lord Lovat mortgaged Phopachy in 1620 to Fraser of Culbokie, an error apparently for Fraser of Phopachy who was undoubtedly already in some form of possession of it. "A branch of the Frasers had this land in mortgage," he says, "near 150 years, but it was redeemed by the late Lord Lovat"—that is Lord Simon of the 'Forty-five.

James married in 1599, Elizabeth, daughter of William Fraser, I. of Struy, with issue—

II. JAMES FRASER, second of Phopachy, who is described as such in a contract of marriage, dated in 1629, between Alexander Maclean, younger of Dochgarroch and Agnes, daughter of Thomas Fraser, III. of Struy. He married with issue—

III. WILLIAM FRASER, third of Phopachy, a Doctor of Medicine. He appears in the Valuation Roll for the county of Inverness in the parish of Kirkhill, in 1644, as

* *Province of Moray*, new edition, vol ii., p. 373, written about 1760.

"William Fraser of Phopachie," for £148 6s 8d. He married, with issue, at least two sons—

1. James, who succeeded his father.

2. Andrew, who is a student at the University of Aberdeen in 1672, described as "frater Magistri Jacobi a Phoppachie," Inverness.

He was succeeded by his elder son,

IV. The REV. JAMES FRASER, fourth of Phopachy, minister of Kirkhill, ordained in 1661. He married, with issue, at least three sons—

1. Robert, who predeceased his father.

2. Alexander, who succeeded to Phopachy.

3. Simon, of whom nothing further is known.

He died in October, 1705, about 75 years of age, and was succeeded by his eldest surviving son,

V. ALEXANDER FRASER, fifth of Phopachy. He was a man of considerable consequence in the Fraser country of the Aird, and was one of those who in 1714 planned the return of Lord Simon from France. In 1716 his Lordship appointed him as one of his Chamberlains. They, however, soon afterwards quarrelled and carried on a bitter feud to the end of their lives, between themselves or members of their respective families, a full account of which has been already given, and to which the reader is referred, under Simon, thirteenth Lord Fraser. He married, with issue, at least, two sons—

1. Robert, his heir and successor.

2. James, the London apothecary, of whom Lord Simon writes so contemptuously and malignantly on several occasions. He however sends for and becomes very friendly with him while awaiting his doom in the Tower of London. James bought Torbreck in 1758.

It would appear that Alexander died before 1737, for on the 9th of December in that year Lord Simon writes to Sir James Grant of Grant a letter in which he speaks of the head of the house then as "Young Phopachy," and of "a brother that he has in London, an apothecary"; and in January 1738, he writes to Ludovick Grant, a letter in

which he describes James the apothecary, as "a brother of Phopachy." On the 26th of May, 1739, he speaks of Alexander as "late of Phopachy," and of his son as "this Phopachy," and as that "young rogue Phopachy" who "pursues me for money after his father plundered me of my estate, and he and his mother of my effects, with his father's concurrence and advice" [pp. 460-461.]

He was succeeded by his elder son,

VI. ROBERT FRASER, sixth of Phopachy, in whose time Lord Simon so far succeeded in his determination to ruin the family by redeeming the wadset which had remained on the lands of Phopachy for about 130 years. They, however, still possessed three fourths of the lands of the Merkinch of Inverness, and continued to do so until the beginning of the nineteenth century. On the 1st of September, 1743, he purchased the lands of Wester Ballifeary from Alexander Fraser of Fairfield and, described as "Robert Fraser of Phopachie," he is entered in 1769 as heritor of the three quarters of the lands of Merkinch and Newlands, in the parish of Inverness, held from the Magistrates of the burgh. He seems to have died unmarried, or without male issue, for he was on his death succeeded as representative of the family by his brother,

VII. JAMES FRASER, the London apothecary, who had, in 1758, during his brother's life, purchased the lands of Torbreck and Balrobert at a judicial sale at the instance of the creditors of John Baillie, Sheriff-Depute of Inverness. How he and Lord Simon became reconciled will be seen on reference to pp. 482 and 484.

James married, with issue—

1. Alexander, his heir and successor.
2. Hugh, who for some time resided at Stoneyfield, near Inverness, and was on that account usually styled "Stoneyfield." He subsequently lived at Ness-side, and married* with issue—(1) Colonel Hugh Fraser of the Bengal Engineers, C.B., a most distinguished officer. He was

* His widow, Elizabeth, died at Ness Cottage on the 4th of September, 1861, aged 85 years.

Commanding Engineer in the Burmese War in 1851-52, when he gained his Order of the Bath by an act of conspicuous gallantry in capturing the White House Stockade at Rangoon. After the capture of the Great Pagoda on the 12th of April, 1852, General Godwin, who commanded, wrote a despatch from which the following is an extract referring to Fraser's gallant conduct. The General says—"On looking on the stockade whence the fire came, I perceived it was a strong work, which used to be called in the last war the 'White House' picquet, a very strong position and just in the way of our advance. A battery of four guns was immediately opened on it by Majors Reid and Oakes, the whole being under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Foord, Commandant of this arm. The fire of these guns was very effective. A storming party was formed of four companies of the 51st Light Infantry under Lieutenant-Colonel St. Maur, with the Madras Sappers under Major Hugh Fraser, Commanding Engineer, and advanced under cover of a jungle; on getting through which the musketry was so steady and effective from the stockade and adjoining buildings, that a great many of our party were killed and wounded, amongst whom were several officers. I have to deplore the temporary loss of Lieutenant-Colonel Bogle, who was very bravely attending the army to witness its operations. Major Fraser took the ladders to the stockade most gallantly and alone mounted the defences of the enemy, when his example soon brought around him the storming party, which carried the stockade, but at very severe loss on our part." General Godwin then adds—"I beg the Most Noble the Governor-General's consideration of the services of Major Fraser, Commanding Engineer of the force, who not only distinguished himself most gallantly at the White House stockade, but whose indefatigable exertions have never for a moment ceased." In a notification published by the Government of India on the 28th of April, 1852, it is stated that "the conspicuous gallantry of Major Fraser, Commanding the Engineers, and his indefatigable exertions since the expedition was resolved upon, more especially in

the field, command the highest praise and the best thanks of the Supreme Government," and again, on the 1st of May following—"Major Fraser, Commanding Engineer, has been indefatigable in his exertions in his own department and indeed everywhere." In his Farewell Order to the troops, dated the 26th of August, 1854, Major-General Godwin says—"To Major Fraser, Commanding Engineer, the Major-General and the whole army will ever owe a deep debt of gratitude. His labour and ability, assisted by those of his department, have accomplished that at Rangoon and at Prome to which the army owes its exercise, health, and shelter," etc. For his distinguished services in this war Major Fraser was made a Lieutenant-Colonel and a Companion of the Bath. While leading his men and mounting the ladder at the "White House," he was exposed both to the fire of the enemy and of his own men, and one of his young Engineer officers, Lieutenant Donaldson, was mortally wounded, following Major Fraser so closely that his body was actually touching him when he fell. Colonel Fraser was chief Engineer at Agra in 1857-58 during the Indian Mutiny and when John Russell Colvin, the Lieutenant-Governor, died in September, 1857, Colonel Fraser was appointed to act in his place and carry on the Government in the North Western Provinces, with supreme civil as well as military command. But this position proved too much for his reduced strength. He was worn out with so many months of day and night labour and anxiety that his health gave way, and he died, after a short illness, on the 12th of August, 1858. For his distinguished services during the Mutiny it was decided to create him a K.C.B., but he died before Her Majesty's commands reached the Governor-General of India to that effect. Colonel Hugh Fraser, C.B., married on the 4th of November, 1850, Florence Charlotte (eldest daughter of William Penney, Advocate, afterwards Lord Kinloch, one of the judges of the Court of Session in Scotland), now of the Haven, Inverness, with issue—(a) Hugh, born on the 2nd of November, 1851. He is Collector at Bijnore, in the Civil

Service of Bengal, and married on the 28th of September, 1886, Marion, daughter of Alexander Walker of Findynard, Perthshire, with issue—Hugh, born on the 10th of March, 1890; and Alexander Angus, born on the 14th of October, 1894. (b) Charles Arthur, born on the 6th of April, 1857, Provost-Marshall and Commandant of Police at Nassau in the Bahamas, West Indies. (c) Lennox Robertson, born on the 5th of June, 1858. He was a Cooper's Hill Engineer, Bengal, and died unmarried at Paignton, South Devon, on the 14th of December, 1895. (d) Florence, born on the 12th of May, 1855, and died unmarried on the 11th of June, 1884. (2) John, an officer in the Bengal Engineers, who died unmarried. (3) James, drowned while bathing at the age of 16 years. (4) Mary, who married Captain Angus Macpherson of the 91st Regiment of Foot, and died in 1844, leaving surviving issue—(a) Hugh Fraser, who died at sea on board the ship "Victoria" on his passage home from Valparaiso, in the 23rd year of his age, in 1853; (b) Angus James, who was born on the 29th of August, 1831. (5) Eliza, who died unmarried; (6) Matilda, who also died unmarried; (7) Alexandrina, who married John Dunbar, merchant, with issue—two sons and five daughters.

James Fraser, who died in Edinburgh on the 15th of December, 1770,* was succeeded by his elder son,

VIII. ALEXANDER FRASER of Torbreck, who was born in 1744, possessed the property for many years, managed it with great prudence, was highly respected in Inverness and district, and lived in very good style. He kept a coach, which from its cumbersome construction and many divisions was known among the natives as "Noah's Ark," and as it rolled ponderously along the road it unfailingly attracted the attention and general admiration of the young and rising generation. He is one of the substitutes in General Fraser's entail in 1774.

Alexander married Theresa, daughter of Russell of Ashesteil, with issue—

1. Robert, his heir and successor.

* *Scots Magazine*,

2. Jane, who married Hugh Fraser, X. of Struy, with issue, three sons—Thomas, Robert, and Hugh, who all became heads of that family in succession and died unmarried; and two daughters—Margaret Dunbar, and Catherine Wedderburn, both of whom also died unmarried.

3. Anne Dewar, who married Captain John Macdonald, of Springfield, near Forres, with issue—(1) James, who died unmarried; (2) Eliza, who also died unmarried; and (3) Ann Dewar Russell, who married John Thomson, banker, Inverness (she now resides at Barnstaple, Devonshire, and is in her 91st year), with issue—John, who died unmarried; Anne, and Elizabeth, both unmarried; and Beatrice, who, in 1868, married Major Charles Arthur Nicolson, late of the 25th Bengal Native Infantry, with issue—a son, Theodore Dewar.

Alexander, who died on the 20th of March, 1821, aged 77 years, was succeeded by his son,

IX. ROBERT FRASER, of whom Mr Fraser-Mackintosh says, that he “was, in most respects, the reverse of his father.” His elopement in 1807 with Lady Anne, daughter of the eighth Earl of Lauderdale, in the style and the manner of young Lochinvar, is well known. The same writer adds—“The present generation has no conception of the effects produced in Scotland by the agitation preceding the Reform Bill (of 1832). No question could, in these times, by any possibility involve such commotion or stir up such feeling. Among others in the North, Torbreck became a violent reformer, and in the great contest for the Inverness Burghs in 1832, he stood as a candidate, and incurred great expense.” The numbers polled for the respective candidates in this contest were, for Colonel Baillie of Redcastle, 250; John Stewart of Belladrum, 243; and for Robert Fraser of Torbreck, 6.*

Robert and Lady Anne built Ness Castle, afterwards bought, beautified, and long occupied, along with the lands on which it was erected, by Marjory Lady Saltoun. He sold Torbreck and Balrobert in 1834.

* *Antiquarian Notes*, pp. 180-181.

By Lady Anne Maitland, who died in 1829, Torbreck had issue—

1. Alexander Robert, of whom presently.
2. Anne, who died unmarried.
3. Eleanor, who married Colonel Lancelot Rolleston of Watnall Hall, Notts, with issue—(1) Lancelot, born on the 19th of August, 1847, now of Watnall Hall. He married Lady Maud, daughter of the Hon. Colonel Robert Dalzell and sister of the Earl of Carnwath, without issue. (2) Robert Sidney, born on the 15th of September, 1849, Captain R.N. (3) Eleanor Anne, who married John Robert Tennant, without issue. Mrs Rolleston died in 1894.

Robert died in London, on the 3rd of October, 1844, when he was succeeded as representative of the family by his only son,

X. MAJOR-GENERAL ALEXANDER ROBERT FRASER, now residing at Bath, in his 76th year. He was in the Madras Cavalry and retired from the service in 1874. He married first, Catherine Wilson, eldest daughter of General Sandys of the Madras Cavalry, with issue—

1. Eleanor Theresa, who, on the 3rd of September, 1867, married Sir Gilbert Augustus Clayton East, Baronet of Hall Place, Berks, with issue—Gilbert William, born on the 7th of May, 1869; George Frederick Lancelot, born on the 3rd of September, 1872; Eleanor Alexandra, and Agnes Emma.
2. Catherine Anne, still unmarried.

General Fraser, whose first wife died at Masulipatam on the 11th of June, 1857, married secondly Fanny Mary, daughter of Captain William Squire, 2nd Life Guards and of Barton Place, Maidenhall, Suffolk, with issue—

3. Alexander Robert, born in 1875.
4. Simon William, born in 1876.
5. Mabel Anne.
6. Fanny Lillian.
7. Gertrude Eleanor.

THE FRASERS OF SWORDALE.

I. ANDREW FRASER, tacksman of Swordale, county of Ross, was—according to family tradition for generations—descended from the family of Struy. He was more probably from Robert Fraser, Chamberlain to the Abbot of Fearn, a younger brother of John and Alexander, the progenitors respectively of the Frasers of Dunballoch and Phopachy. (See p. 717). The connection with Struy may have been through marriage with one of the ladies of that family. Andrew married Ann, a younger daughter of George Robertson, Balconie, by Christian, daughter of Hector Douglas, V. of Muldearg, by his wife, a daughter of the Rev. Thomas Mackenzie, III. of Inverlael. By this lady Andrew had issue—

1. George, of Ardgay, his heir.
2. Donald, who died in India in 1803.
3. James, in Novar, born in 1757 and died unmarried.
4. Colin, born in 1760.
5. Catherine. 6. Helen.

Andrew was succeeded as representative of the family by his eldest son,

II. GEORGE FRASER, Ardgay, who in 1772 married Helen, daughter of Angus Sutherland, Kincardine, by his wife Janet, daughter of William Ross, VIII. of Invercarron and his wife Helen Ross of Braelangwell. By her he had issue—

1. Angus, his heir, born in 1773.
2. William, born in 1775. He was Captain in the 59th Regiment and married in Ireland, Eliza Trimble, with issue—a son George, who emigrated to America and died there unmarried.
3. Andrew, born in 1779, afterwards of Flemington, Inverness. He entered the army as Ensign in 1796, in the

Scotch Brigade (old 94th Regiment). He served at the Cape and in the East Indies, was transferred to the Royal Veteran Battalion in 1810, appointed Fort Major at Fort George, and afterwards officiating Governor there till his death in 1846. He married in 1816 Annabella Campbell, daughter of Dr James Roy, Fort-George, and his wife Isabella, daughter of Colonel John Campbell of Melfort and his wife, Colina Campbell of Achaladder. By this lady he had issue—(1) Leopold Saxe-Coburg, successively Ensign in the 70th Regiment and Captain in the Ceylon Rifles. He was born in 1819 and died, unmarried, at Colombo, on the 1st of December, 1846, while Aide-de-Camp to his grand-uncle, Lieutenant-General Sir Colin Campbell, K.C.B., Governor of Ceylon. (2) James George of Merlewood, Inverness, Surgeon-Major in the Bombay Medical Service. He was born in 1820 and on the 10th of June, 1852, married Eliza Munro, eldest daughter of Walter Angus Bethune of Dunrobin, Tasmania. He died in 1878 without issue. (3) Charles Ross of Heatherley, Inverness, appointed Ensign, 30th Madras Infantry, in 1839. He commanded successively the 2nd and 4th Regiments Punjaub Irregular Cavalry, and was afterwards Adjutant of the Inverness-shire Highland Rifle Volunteers from 1860 to 1873, when he retired with the rank of Major. He was born in 1822, and in 1860 married his sister-in-law, Julia Josephine Margaret, daughter of Walter Angus Bethune of Dunrobin, Tasmania, and grand-daughter of the Rev. John Bethune, D.D., Dornoch, Sutherlandshire. She died in 1868. Major Charles Ross Fraser died in 1889, leaving issue—(a) Charles James Roy Fraser, now of Merlewood, Inverness, who was born in 1863, is a B.A. of Baliol College, Oxford, and Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society. He married on the 14th of November, 1895, Wilhelmina Mary, daughter of the late Hector William Pope Smith of Orlig, Hawke's Bay, New Zealand; (b) Walter Andrew, born in 1866, Lieutenant Indian Staff Corps; (c) Annabella Roy; and (d) Julia Charlotte. Major Andrew Fraser died at Fort-George on the 20th of December, 1846.

4. George, born in 1781 and died in Demerara, unmarried.

5. Janet, married William Macpherson, Tain, with issue.

6. Ann, who died in infancy.

George Fraser, Ardgay, was succeeded as representative of the family by his eldest son,

III. ANGUS FRASER, Dornoch, born in 1773, and in 1800 married Elizabeth, daughter of William Sutherland of Sciberscross, with issue—

1. William Sutherland, his heir.

2. George, born in 1804, went to Grenada, and married Emily Jane Ker, with issue—(1) John Charles Ker, born in 1841 and died unmarried in 1879; (2) Angus, born in 1842, and married in 1874 Blanche, daughter of Dr Charsley, Ceylon, with issue—two daughters, Blanche and Eileen; (3) William Leopold, born in 1848, and died in 1875 unmarried; (4) Franklyn Stuart, M.B., C.M., born in 1850, and died unmarried in 1880. George Fraser died in 1855.

3. Andrew, W.S., Sheriff-Substitute of Fort-William from 1838 to 1873. He was born in 1805, and married in 1841, Janet, daughter of Robert Brown, of Gilston, East Lothian, with issue—(1) Robert Brown, of Leadenhall Street, London, born in 1850. (2) Elizabeth Sutherland, who, in 1866, married David Harris, Edinburgh, with issue—(a) David Fraser, born in 1867, B.Sc., London, M.B. and C.M., of Glasgow; (b) Andrew Fraser, born in 1868; (c) Sutherland Fraser, born in 1873; (d) Robert Fraser, born in 1878; and (e) Janet Susan.

4. John, who was born in 1808, and married in 1839, Margaret Marrow, with issue—(1) William Marrow, married with issue; (2) Angus Llewellyn, born in 1843, married with issue; and (3) John Laughlin Munro, born in 1845, and married, with issue. John Fraser died in 1879.

5. Rose Dempster, born in 1809, and married in 1841, in Bermuda, Lavinia Thomson, with issue—(1) Rose Dempster, who married Mary Lewis Masters, with issue; (2) William Sutherland, born in 1850, and died in 1890, unmarried; (3) Alexander Thomson, born in 1855, and married, with issue;

(4) Elizabeth, who in 1866 married George E. Fögl, Lieutenant in the Danish Navy, with issue—(a) Rose Dempster Fögl, born in 1868; and (b) Lizzie. Elizabeth died in 1871. (5) Lavinia Thomson, who married Ernest Adolphus Richards, with issue; (6) Mary Laughlin, who married Edward Henry Innes; (7) Susan Foster, who married W. Lewis Masters; and (8) Janet Hoyes, who married Abdiel William Campbell. Rose Dempster Fraser died at Glenrose, Bermuda, on the 30th of August, 1895.

6. Angus, who was born in 1814, and died in India unmarried in 1848.

7. Helen, born in 1802, and died unmarried in 1883.

8. Janet, who, born in 1806, married in 1838, Lewis Hoyes of Grenada, and Forres, county of Moray, with issue—(1) Lewis, S.S.C., born in 1841 and died, unmarried, at Dornoch, in 1888; (2) Elizabeth, who, born in 1843, married in 1879 the late Donald Taylor, Sheriff Clerk of Sutherlandshire.

9. Mary, born in 1811 and married first, in 1837, Dr John Poyntz Munro, and secondly, John Macdonell, Grenada.

10. Christina, unmarried.

Angus Fraser, of Dornoch, who died in 1833, was succeeded as representative of the family by his eldest son,

IV. WILLIAM SUTHERLAND FRASER, born in 1801. He was Procurator-Fiscal for the county of Sutherland from 1833 until his death, unmarried, in 1889, when he was succeeded as representative of the family by his nephew,

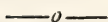
V. ANGUS FRASER, of Earls Court Road, London, banker, born in 1842, and married in 1874 Blanche, daughter of Dr Charsley, principal Civil Medical Officer, Ceylon Service, with issue—

1. Angus Sutherland Charsley, who died in infancy.

2. Blanche Laura Charsley.

3. Eileen Christina.

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